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Our common, contested future: The rhetorics of modern environment in Sweden

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Abstract

This thesis explores the creation and resolution of environmental conflicts in modern Sweden from a narrative ethics perspective. By problematising the concept of Swedish exceptionalism in environmental questions, it allows for a multi-disciplinary reappraisal of Sweden's international reputation as a nominally 'green' nation. This emphasises the dissonance between perceptions of a self-identifying green nation and idea of a sustainable modern green state which is structured in a sustainable way. In so doing, the thesis asserts the pluralistic approach to the ethics and moral identities of modernity pioneered by the Scottish political and moral philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre as a means of understanding the diverse and often contradictory nature of Sweden's environmental performance. The main source material for this investigation is a corpus of circa 1000 texts in four major newspapers, taken from debates surrounding three environmental conflicts between 1970 and 2010. These conflicts are the 1970 campaign to save the Vindel River from development, the 1980 referendum on nuclear energy in Sweden and the role played by the proposed Stockholm Bypass road project in the 2010 municipal and national elections. Chosen to cover variation in location, size and time period, they yield a substantial sample in relation to the discussion and resolution of environmental conflict. These texts are listed in full in Appendix II.

Utilising the theory of textual selves presented in the analytical discourse methodology of Norman Fairclough and the reflexive nature of self-identity within modern narrative, these entries are then coded. This coding uses the concept of a textual ethos developed within Fairclough's Text Oriented Discourse Analysis (TODA) methodology. From this large corpus, thirteen specific examples reflecting these quantitative labels are more closely analysed using TODA. This pays attention to both their composition and to the wider context of the debates from which they are taken.

In the detailed analyses that follow, the conflicts and their characteristics are viewed through the concept of modern non-rational doxa. This entails argumentation being based on temporally specific contexts and narratives over epistemologically coherent rationalism. Parallels are drawn between larger societal meta-narratives and values and the argumentation for specific choices about the future made by individual authors, and it is argued that the continued fragmentation of Swedish politics has implications for understanding the concept of norms and the hegemony of ideologies or ethical standpoints. Discussing the impact of such a situation on Sweden's future development and the potential for export of Swedish environmental practice, this study ultimately posits that any attempt to replicate Swedish environmental practice must come to terms with the narrative context in which action is to take place. Finally, it speculates on the challenges of writing and arguing for truly sustainable eco-modernities.

Declaration

I confirm that this thesis has been composed by me, that it is my own work and that its contents has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Dominic Hinde

**In memory of Helena Forsås-Scott, who was a source of great
inspiration to so many, and for my parents who supported me through
so much.**

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Notes

All quotations, with the exception of longer texts reproduced in full and subsequently cited, have been translated into English. Where the meaning of the Swedish original is of particular importance or where there is no official English translation the Swedish has been inserted in italicised brackets.

A distinction is also made between social democracy as a concept and the Swedish Social Democratic party. Where the latter is meant upper case letters are used, with lower case used to describe social democracy as a more general concept.

In some cases particular textual features are underlined for emphasis.

During the archive research undertaken as part of this project it was significantly more difficult to obtain information and examples of election posters in particular from some political parties. The Moderate party appear to have a policy of not making older campaign material freely available and showed a particular reluctance to respond to requests. For this reason some Moderate material is reproduced from secondary sources. Some digital material has also been deleted by political parties since publication.

Due to the fact that much of the material reproduced here has been scanned from microfilm it varies greatly in quality. This mean that in some cases images or parts of the text are unclear due to damage to the microfilm. Some of the articles have been over or under-exposed to make the text more legible.

List of abbreviations

C – Centre Party

EPA – Environmental Protection Agency

FP – Liberal Party

KD – Christian Democrats

LO – Swedish council of trade unions

M – Moderate Party

MP - Green Party

OECD - Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

S – Social Democratic Party

TODA – Text oriented discourse analysis

UN – United Nations

V/VpK – Left/Communist Party

List of Swedish political parties

The Sweden Democrats [*Sverigedemokraterna*] – A populist right party with roots in neo-nazi politics campaigning largely for decreased immigration. They are also sceptical of the existence of climate change.

The Moderate Party [*Moderaterna*] – A traditional Conservative party which has in recent years pursued a neo-liberal and socially liberal agenda.

The Liberal Party [*Folkpartiet*] – A Liberal party combining centre-right economic policies with liberal welfare.

The Centre Party [*Centerpartiet*] – A traditionally agrarian liberal party, modernised since the 1990s to take more of a neo-liberal economic approach with some emphasis on environmental protection and small business owners and rural areas.

The Green Party [*Miljöpartiet De Gröna*] A political ecology party with roots in both radical and liberal politics, usually grouped with the leftist electoral bloc. Its core principles included sustainability, gender equality and democratic participation.

The Social Democratic Party [*Socialdemokraterna*] - Historically the largest party in postwar Swedish politics, it campaigns primarily on the maintainance of the welfare state and redistributive policies within a classic growth economy having liberalised from the 1980s onwards.

The Left Party [*Vänsterpartiet*] – Formerly a communist party, since the Cold War it has characterised itself as a leftist democratic party with a belief in environmental protection, feminism, anti-racism, anti-capitalism and improved rights for workers.

Sources: Arter 2008, Moon 2008, Pihlblad 2012, Ekman & Poohl 2010, Arvidsson 2014, Hilson 2008.

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Foreword

This thesis is the result of almost four years of research, undertaken in both Scotland and Sweden. Based on a general desire to better understand the dynamics of the environmental debate in Sweden, it has required the cooperation and assistance of a wide range of people who have contributed with different skills and perspectives. Its appearance also owes much to the symposia organised and funded by the Nordic Interdisciplinary Environmental Studies network and the hard work they have done with doctoral students toward developing an environmental humanities research base in the Nordic countries. Taking components from rhetoric, communication studies, environmental philosophy, cultural studies and the history of ideas, it is a combination of all of these things but cannot really claim to belong to any of them.

Like much of the new research emerging from the environmental humanities, it seeks to find a strength in this hybridity and to act as a link between different disciplines. The environmental humanities is a fast-expanding field of research in which Sweden has taken a leading role, thanks in part to the work of the environmental humanities hubs at KTH in Stockholm, and now also Mid-Sweden University and Linköping. In addition to providing a space for exchange of ideas, disciplinary perspectives and its ambition to link various arms of the arts and sciences, the development of the environmental humanities has also helped to re-assert the usefulness of the humanities in addressing contemporary concerns.

It is also informed greatly by the work of Sarah Colvin in German studies at Cambridge, my former lecturer at Edinburgh, who first introduced me to the concepts of narratology and self-narrative as a bridge between the soft humanities and the world at large. This is particularly so with regard to the role played by narrative construction in the moral justification of action and life politics. Related to this is the rediscovery and rehabilitation of Alasdair MacIntyre as an important theorist and critic of modern life, not least in the work of Jason Hannan, several decades after the core ideas of his narrative approach were first published.

It has been written in fairly unique circumstances, coinciding with the still unfinished debate on Scottish independence in which the generation of specific futures and the

attempts of politicians to justify them have been a fact of daily life. Arguing so explicitly about the future and the form it both might and should take has been extremely revealing of the power of political and social narratives in the world-building of individual voters. A huge part of this referendum process has been the use of Scandinavia as both model and comparison in the discussion of what a society can and should look like, albeit a Scandinavia constructed from a particularly Scottish perspective. This idealised view of a past Scandinavia and a future Scotland has been made to temporarily exist in a present buffeted by globalisation and the common problems of sustainability and ideological breakdown. To write about them both academically and journalistically has been a rare privilege. As Allan Pred writes in his seminal analysis of modern Sweden, *Recognizing European Modernities: A montage of the present*, the country is an extreme case of Western modernity in all of its articulations. This makes it a laboratory for the development of the values and structures of reflexively modern society. This is true even in the present day with new processes of dynamic change to be negotiated and expressed.

The sheer volume of material dealt with here meant that the nuclear question on its own would have been enough to fill four years of work, but for reasons of practicality I have had to limit the scope of this study and the degree to which each case study can be discussed. I nonetheless hope that it provides both a comprehensive and innovative description of Sweden's environmental situation today. At the same time, this thesis is not intended as an historical overview of environmentalism in Sweden, instead seeking to illustrate the validity of its narrative approach and to problematise some of the assumptions made about both Sweden and the wider world in meeting the challenges of the future.

1. Understanding Sweden in the modern global environment

1.1 Research questions

This study seeks to answer three key research questions with regard to the environment in modern Sweden as part of a general assessment of the country as a model for global environmental modernity. The foremost of these is whether it is possible to locate and identify a Swedish environmental ethic within the practice and discussion of contemporary environmentalism through public argumentation. This first aim is achieved through the collection and mapping of a large body of media discussion on environmental issues and the application of a framing methodology using quantitative data analysis.

The second question within this larger survey is to ascertain the strategies pursued by environmentalists and their opponents in negotiating the political and civic landscape. To what degree are environmentalists arguing as environmentalists, to what extent can they be said to embody the ethical expectations of environmentalism as a movement, and how are the apparent paradoxes of contemporary Sweden rhetorically solved? This necessarily involves the analysis of key texts and focusing specifically on elements of composition and the projection of specific characteristics by those engaging with environmental conflict.

A third question which then arises from the discussion of these first two is the implications of the relationship between societal norms and the attempts of environmentalists and other agents to influence them within this aforementioned nominally model environmentalism of contemporary Sweden. How does the way in which Sweden argues over its environment have implications for the reproduction of any hypothetical 'Swedish way' in other contexts, and what does this mean for the concept of environmental ethics within the unstable landscapes of late modernity? These three questions underpin this study.

1.2 Definition of key terms

This study makes use of a number of key concepts, some of which may be either uncommon or ambiguous in their definition depending on how they are used. Here I briefly outline the context in which this study applies them. All of them are more extensively discussed later in this thesis.

Modernity - The most overarching of these concepts is the idea of *modernity*, and in particular its reflexivity. In this instance modernity can be characterised in two separate but interrelated forms, the first of which is the structure of Western society and thought from the European enlightenment to the present day. To this end this study uses Anthony Giddens' definition of modernity 'in a very general sense, to refer to the institutions and modes of behaviour established first of all in post-feudal Europe, but which in the twentieth century increasingly have become world historical in their impact' (Giddens 1991:14). This time period and its social implications is also the same as the 'post-enlightenment' situation outlined by the Scottish political and moral philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre in his critique of rational morality in which universal morality ceases to exist (Horton & Mendus 1994:6)

This is related to the notion of the modern itself, in which modernness and processes of change become reflexive, whereby modernity is something not only observed but demonstrably reproduced or acted in response to in a process of 'chronic revision' (*ibid.*: 20-21). This is similarly defined by Ulrich Beck as a period in which 'modernity has begun to modernise its own foundations.' (2003:1)

Ethos - Linked to this unstable view of modernity is the third key concept of an *ethos*, or character which can be constructed and reflexively reconstructed. The use of textual ethos is used to tie together disparate elements of textual framing, discussion of self-identity within the reflexivity of modernity, and the character of individual authors. As is more extensively discussed in chapters two and three, ethos is used generally as a synonym for a 'social self' according to the work of Norman Fairclough (1994:167), though it overlaps with other uses of the term.

Doxa – The third key concept within this study is that of rhetorical *doxa*, a context-based approach to communicative knowledge. Designed to deal with the highly relativised and unstable nature of argument within modernity, it can be defined as an anti-universalist

approach to ideas of truth. This is summarised by Jim A. Kuypers as ‘operating within the realm of a relativised world where universals no longer exist’ (1996:455). As such, it rejects a rational approach to argumentation, instead contending with circumstance to achieve specific ends or goods.

Goods – The final key concept utilised is the idea of goods and what can be judged as environmental goods. In this case goods are characterised as something deemed to be desirable and where their achievement can be said to result in improvement to a general situation. In the context of communicative action, however, a distinction can be made between the achievement of specific goods and the intention with which they are achieved. This is in line with Alasdair MacIntyre’s distinction between internal and external goods (1981:188). This distinction is of particular importance in discussions of the reflexivity of environmentalism in which environmentalism can be used to achieve non-environmental goods.

1.3 A note on structure and method

This thesis employs a combination of theoretical perspectives and quantitative and qualitative research practices. Consisting of eight chapters, it seeks to problematise the idea of uniform environmental ethics and explains how a rhetorical approach can help to solve this, developing a method for rhetorical analysis, applying that theory and drawing general conclusions about the applicability of the research findings using a database to map the characteristics of media texts.

This combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches is designed to achieve both a greater level of legitimacy for the conclusions made in individual textual analyses and to emphasise the relationship between theory and practice which is central to its theoretical basis. The most significant component of this is the inclusion of 972 labelled examples of media covering three separate case studies, retrieved from the newspaper archives of the National Library of Sweden. Here I briefly outline the structure of this study and how its constituent parts relate to one another.

This first chapter explains the wider context of this study and the idea of Swedish exceptionalism in environmental questions. Contrasting portrayals of Sweden as a green nation and the Green State theory of Robyn Eckersley, it then asserts the need for a

pluralistic approach to the ethics and moral politics of modern Sweden as a means of understanding the diversity and often contradictory nature of its environmental performance. Chapter two elaborates on this, turning first to the limitations of environmental topicality before positing a more contextualised and less universalist approach to understanding environmental conflicts. Through the establishment of Sweden as a delineated community of argument, it argues that developing an understanding of the narrative basis on which Sweden's environmental conflicts are fought offers the most practical route to understanding any normative Swedish or Nordic way.

Chapter three discusses the notion of an interactional ethos as a textual unit and framing tool, asserting a commonality between the position of the self as a defining feature of modernity and the idea of ethos as a comprehensive term for mapping textual characteristics in the Text Oriented Discourse Analysis method of Norman Fairclough. This produces a transferable method for constructing a textual corpus, asserting the functionality of an ethos-based framing model in practice. This also introduces the quantitative aspects of this study by drawing connections between individual texts and a large textual corpus. The consistent application of this method facilitates the quantitative underpinning of each case study, elaborated on in chapter four where two sample texts are deconstructed in order to illustrate how ethos as frame can be used to build a quantitatively searchable corpus for large scale study of conceptual change.

There then follow three analytical chapters containing specific case studies of communicative practice, using the synthesis of TODA and MacIntyre's narrative theory. Each of these chapters contain a number of selected texts drawn from the larger corpus which are analysed more closely, followed by a general discussion based on the quantitative database of ethos frames. Chapter five deals with the resolution of the Vindel river hydro-electric conflict of 1970, explaining how arguments of economy and the creation of regionalised conceptions of the future were effective in changing government policy. The chapter also discusses the inherent friction between discourses of rurality and the modernistic Social Democratic project in the latter half of the 20th century. Chapter six focuses on nuclear energy politics, specifically the 1980 referendum on nuclear power in Sweden, and the creation of alternative but overlapping

hypothetical modernities by differing political campaigns. It assesses the narrative legacy of the nuclear debate on contemporary Swedish society and looks at the manner in which anti-nuclear campaigners dealt with the reflexive nature of modernity in a period of transition, laying the foundations for subsequent processes of ecological modernisation. Chapter seven deals with contemporary roadbuilding debates and their relationship to electoral politics, using the case study of the Stockholm bypass in relation to the 2010 Swedish parliamentary elections to examine how environmentalism in the public and political space has evolved. It pays particular attention to the legacy of processes of ecological modernisation and the abandonment of ecological post-modernity in favour of argumentative strategies situated firmly within the practice and values of contemporary Swedish society.

Chapter eight brings together the cumulative data of the entire textual corpus and discusses it in relation to a range of secondary sources and a more general discussion of Sweden's contemporary situation. This situates the arguments from respective case studies within the concept of a modernistic and temporally specific *doxa*. This then introduces a brief discussion of comparative and convergent eco-modernities more generally and problematises the role of media in the creation of more general narratives of environment and modernity, considering the implications this has for the conscious reproduction of Swedish environmentalism in new contexts and the potential of non-rational argumentation more generally. This structure is designed to provide a robust and logical progression from the theoretical to the quantitative practice-based aspects of this study, making appropriate links between the two and illustrating the relationship between individual texts and the wider landscape of environmental discussion.

1.4 Research context and the 'Nordic Way'

This thesis has been written as a collaboration between two different subject areas and two university departments; based in a department of Scandinavian Studies at the University of Edinburgh with the assistance of the Division of Rhetoric at Uppsala University. Working across disciplines, it combines both domestic and international perspectives on Sweden. This is the result of a desire to further investigate aspects of environment at a cultural and social level using the relatively unique combination of skill sets and perspectives provided by a cultural studies department and a deeper understanding of the mechanisms of argumentation and communication.

Scandinavian Studies as a subject area is presently discovering new ways of using its cultural expertise of the region in an international context, including narratological approaches to questions of welfare and multiculturalism in social context alongside a more traditional focus on individual authors or cultural products. Within this there has been something of a ‘green turn’ by researchers such as Helena Forstås Scott (2001, 2014) and Christopher Oscarsson (2007) with an interest in comparative cultural perspectives on environment. This is part of an increased interest in the cross pollination of the traditional areas of linguistic and cultural study with other aspects of the humanities and sciences under the general label of the environmental humanities. This stems from the belief that a relatively peripheral area in geographical and cultural terms is capable not just of achieving and maintaining relevance as a subject of research, but that it has the ability to contribute in nuanced and sometimes unexpected ways to a whole range of questions and areas in international context.

At the present time there is a massive interest in all parts of the United Kingdom in Sweden and Nordic society more generally, amongst both the research community and the general public. This covers a range of areas from education to the visual arts, social and environmental policy, foreign policy and gender studies. The Nordic countries more generally also have a habit of being used as a rhetorical tool in European and global discussions of issues of economy, gender and environment in particular, leaving their local contexts and becoming characters in a larger transnational narrative which they themselves often willingly subscribe to and perpetuate. Christine Ingebritsen meanwhile has described Scandinavia as a whole as a ‘moral superpower’(2006:2) In an environmental context this has been particularly evident at the Nordic delegations in negotiations on global climate, where the Nordic Council has consistently referred to a ‘Nordic Way’ (Nordic Council 2013) and a values-based approach to environmental challenges which construct a strongly moral narrative and imperative to action. Likewise, the most recent actions of government foreign policy in Sweden have entailed a return and reiteration of a self-consciously internationalist strand of environmental policymaking suggestive of a Swedish model of best practice (Lövin 2014)

In a similar vein, Björn Wittrock notes how the Swedish presidency of the European Union in 2009 marked usage of an ‘official rhetoric during the presidency [which] refers to a vision of leadership for the future, not least in the environmental field. Yet that distinctiveness of that visions remains to be articulated.’ (Wittrock 2012: 109). It is thus also possible to talk of a situation in which ‘the notion of Scandinavian progressiveness is informed by an idea of a certain moral quality, a uniqueness of being.’ (Andersson 2009). As I discuss in the concluding chapter, this is also linked to the idea of an exceptionalist Swedish narrative of progress, or *framstegsberättelse*. This can even be seen as a Western European articulation of what the anthropologist Kay Milton has called ‘the myth of primitive ecological wisdom’ (Milton 2013: 109) and the assumption of an enlightened rationalism which has little ideological coherency in a modern context. This presents an apparent paradox whereby the moral exceptionalism of the Nordic countries is asserted as the foundation of a universal approach in a variety of areas.

This phenomenon is in itself worthy of attention, and has been dealt with by Robert Geyer (2003) and Christopher Browning (2007) among others in terms of governance and national branding respectively. With regard to discussion of Nordic environmental culture in a comparative global context, it raises more fundamental questions about the nature of situated environmental agendas and the extent to which social norms are static or flexible, as well as the process by which they are produced.

Bearing this in mind, this study seeks to problematise and challenge such processes by addressing public narrative of the environment as something which is demonstrably constructed, and thus open to deconstruction and manipulation through the prism of narrative ethics. Such an approach has the potential to combine the practical application of Swedish exceptionalism within contemporary modernity with a deeper understanding of the domestic conceptual change that constructs the model intended for international propagation. One of the key aspects of this perspective is the recovery of agents within the internal conflicts of Swedish environmentalism and the strategies pursued by environmentalists in wielding efficacy in the evolution of modern Sweden. To this end I now briefly outline the contemporary state of Swedish environmental politics and its contradictions.

1.5 Sweden: The green nation and the green state.

Sweden is, by many measures, a global leader in environmental issues. It scores highly on such measures as the Yale Environmental Development Index¹ and its citizens are, as Cindy Isenhour (2010:5) notes, apparently significantly more environmentally friendly in terms of their personal orientation than their European Union neighbours.

Sweden was also the first country in the world to establish an environmental protection agency, *Naturvårdsverket*, in 1967, and five years later hosted the landmark United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm. Generally considered a milestone in terms of both the Swedish and global environmental movements, it is also considered to have marked the beginning of a movement towards the Brundtland Commission's report *Our Common Future* (Brundtland: 1987) which established many of the parameters for the globalised environmental wave of the early 1990s. Andrew Jamison and Magnus Ring (2003: 217) even go as far as to assert that 'In many ways, the entire [Swedish] society is an environmental 'movement' - at least in terms of rhetoric - and it is thus difficult to distinguish explicit activism and particular protest events from other forms of environmental politics.'

Since the 1980s it has also been home to one of the world's more successful and enduring Green political movements, represented continuously in the national legislature for over fifteen years following a brief pause in the early 1990s. It has also historically accommodated environmental concerns to a sizeable degree in the agendas of both its left and right wing political parties. In many ways it can appear the model global citizen, relied upon to provide leadership and best practice to both less developed countries and its European neighbours. The statement of policy read at the beginning of the most recent parliamentary session pledges that:

Stopping environmental degradation, reducing climate emissions and developing new green technology represent one of the largest challenges for our generation. Investing in a better environment creates jobs and prospects for the future. Sweden must reduce its emissions at the pace necessary to ensure global sustainable development. (Government of Sweden 2014)

¹ <http://epi.yale.edu/dataexplorer/countryprofiles?iso=SWE>

Such a prioritisation of environment in the official national narrative is, however, no guarantee of environmental virtue in itself, and Sweden does not (yet) conform to the ideal model of the eco-modernistic ‘Green State’ as theorised by Robyn Eckersley (2004), being demonstrably and famously one of the foremost global examples of a growth-based welfare state even in its post-1980s incarnation. It does though, as Eckersley points out (2004:74) exhibit globally pioneering integration of environment and economy, and offers a prime model of both possibility and limitation in creating an eco-modernistic polity. This is summarised by Ingemar Lidskog & Rolf Erlander (2012:422) in their observation that ‘because of its relatively promising preconditions for moving towards a sustainable society, Sweden appears to be an exemplary illustration both of the potential and limits experienced by developed welfare countries seeking to balance environmental, social and economic dimensions of sustainability.’

A comprehensive reading of environmental knowledge and conceptual change in modern Sweden using Jürgen Habermas’ concept of ‘knowledge interests’ has already been carried out by Andrew Jamison (Jamison, Eyerman, Cramer, Læssøe 1990). Jamison gives a general introduction to the ideological aspects of Swedish environmentalism but applies Habermas’ idea of a division of knowledge into distinct groups rather than a multifaceted narrative, asserting that environmental movements themselves are the driving forces behind environmental change. Such perspectives grant a great deal of agency to movement intellectuals but do not engage directly with practice. This provides an account of the ideology of environmentalists but does not consider the instrumental elements of changing environmental attitudes to assess or explain the efficacy of emotivist argumentation. Fundamentally, it is important to consider the ways in which those involved in actual debates on the environment – the flashpoints at which power over the environment becomes explicit – achieve agency in the public sphere, rather than simply characterising them as the ideological mouthpieces of an already-extant and deterministic movement.

Neither is Sweden a country without a history of environmental conflict, in part because environment itself is a contested concept. As shown in this project’s case studies, Sweden’s environmental history is not one composed of dichotomies between environmentalists and developers or the political left and right. It is home to competing

environmental identities and shades of green that overlap and collide. Rather than possessing a homogenous societal ethic on the environment, it is I argue more helpful to look at the Swedish environmental standpoint in normative and, more importantly, flexible terms. This mirrors Isenhour's pluralistic approach to Swedish environmental thinking in which she offers a number of explanations for an apparently exceptionalist model of Swedish environmental practice (2012: 13-23), whilst expressing a wish for an understanding of this exceptionalism within a universal framework which can provide concrete answers to the casual observer.

This study thus situates itself between the desire for an identifiable environmental morality or world view on the one hand and the real-world outcomes of policy and conflict on the other, addressing questions of efficacy, notions of ethical enlightenment and the establishment of normative environmental standpoints in real-world situations. It is for this reason that a rhetorical approach is particularly suitable. As will be discussed, this is also why the work of Alasdair MacIntyre on the relationships between tradition, morality and action play such a key role in the study.

1.6 The evolution of Swedish environmentalism

Sweden has a long history of environmentalism, not always philosophically coherent and driven at different times and to varying degrees by the state, private interests and civil society. As Jamison (1990:15) notes, postwar Swedish environmentalism has to be seen within the context of the Swedish economic conditions and welfarist project that dominated the political agenda from the 1940s until the close of the 20th century. Prior to this, however, there already existed a longstanding environmental movement, with the first national parks in Sweden being formally ratified in 1909 and a preference towards protecting the 'wilderness' areas of Northern Sweden's upland plateau's and mountain ranges (Dahlberg, Rodhe, Sandell 2010). Somewhat ironically, much of this area was public land which had previously been declared property of the indigenous Sami population, but as Thomas Hahn (2000:86) notes, this was all transferred to the crown and became symptomatic of a state sanctioned environmentalism that would ultimately facilitate large scale exploitation of natural resources by the postwar welfare economy.

The 1930s saw the rise of the Social-Democratic movement in Sweden both politically and philosophically in what Thomas Etzemüller (2009) and Allan Pred (1995:97) have

identified as a particularly Swedish articulation of modernity. In the case of environment this often manifested itself as an instrumentalisation of nature in the projects and values of the desired *folkhem*² national community. The provision of green space, garden suburbs and access to the countryside and pristine environment as a cure for the social ills of twentieth century industrial capitalism became a component of projects of social engineering alongside workplace relations, healthcare and housing.

There also existed ideological strands of holistic deeper green environmentalism from figures such as the poet and author Harry Martinson (Jamison 1991: 18) and the novelist, feminist and philosopher Elin Wägner (Forsås Scott 2009, 2003), as well as the campaigner Hans Palmstierna (Jamison 1990: 20) and the campaigning writer, journalist and political activist Sara Lidman. The impact of such abstract philosophies on society as a whole has, however, remained somewhat limited in the face of the dominant strands of social-democratic modernity. Detached from national romantic ideas of landscape, they instead arose from a general critique of modernity at odds with the technologically progressive and socially coherent vision of postwar Sweden. Although Sweden's various Social Democratic leaders have repeatedly sought to 'ecologise' Social Democracy, including Göran Persson during his 1996 accession to the leadership of the Social Democratic Party (Lundqvist 2003: 1) (Wiklund 2006:311), this friction between the ethical landscapes of ecologism and modernity has remained.

In the immediate postwar period Sweden undertook a series of technologically ambitious projects including the large-scale rollout of hydro-electric power and the development of a domestic nuclear programme, both of which would come to have serious repercussions politically and socially. Throughout this period, however, the idea of the 'nature loving Swedes' persisted in the popular narrative, becoming something of a rhetorical cliché (Dahlberg, Rodhe, Sandell:214). The 1963 release of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* in translation had a disproportionate influence in Sweden (Anshelm 1995:100), and popular citizen environmentalism began to replace conservation as the primary discourse. As the 1960s progressed, awareness of chemical pollution, nitrates in rivers, acid rain and myriad other problems associated with European industrial society began to be felt in both the natural and political environment. The establishment of the

² For an explanation of the folkem, cf. Arter 2008:59 and Hilson 2010:21

EPA [*naturvårdsverket* lit. nature care agency], to safeguard the nation's natural assets and feed into government policy was followed in 1969 by an environmental protection act which put into law several key elements of what has since come to be known as sustainable development (OECD 1977). At the same time, new environmental organisations were founded on both local and international levels, including a Swedish branch of Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace and the WWF (Jamison 1990: 29) (Medina 2013:31-34). Despite such efforts on the part of environmental movements and some crossover between the Social Democratic project and the evolving environmental actors, it was increasingly the agrarian Centre Party [*centerpartiet*] who began to develop a more ecological profile (Elder, Gooderham 1978:221) . The 1970s in Sweden were a green decade in many ways as Stockholm played host to the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment organised together with the Swedish government and opened by Prime Minister Olof Palme. Towards the end of 1970s, however, the friction between Social Democratic modernity and popular ecologism resurfaced. Two Centre-led coalition governments under the leadership of Thorbjörn Fälldin challenged the Social Democrats with some degree of success, including the eventual referendum on nuclear energy that took place in 1980. Somewhat characteristically, Sweden opted for a middle way between blind technological advancement and ecological post-modernity with a non-binding agreement to phase out nuclear power. This has, to date, still not happened.

The 1980s heralded the establishment of Green politics in Sweden, in large part as a reaction against the perceived indifference of other parties following the nuclear referendum. (Arter 2008:121) Positioning themselves in a new space between the historical electoral blocs of socialist and so-called 'bourgeois' [*borgerlig*] parties of Swedish politics, the Greens initially developed a radical project for environmental reform. After a period away from parliament in the early 1990s they returned with a more moderated agenda (Bolin 2012: 105) which allowed them to more easily relate to mainstream political discussion, and have since developed a more eco-modernist approach. At the same time the Centre Party have seen themselves drastically reduced in size and influence to the point of almost losing their own parliamentary representation and have changed their stances on a number of core 'green' issues such as nuclear

energy and infrastructure (*cf.* Ch. 7), adopting a more conventional neo-liberal approach in ideological and policy terms.

During the 1990s Sweden entered a period of what Allan Pred has called the ‘Swedish Hypermodern’ (1995:16), where previously stable ideologies were replaced by processes of economic and ecological modernisation. In combination with an economic crisis the instrumental aspects of environmental policy facilitated an integration with a general ‘modernisation’ of Swedish society. As Lidskog & Erlander (2012:422) note, however, this process in practice led to a challenge as ‘When financial crisis puts the capitalist market system under heavy stress, social and environmental sustainability apparently do not have the same status given to these values as presumed in the policy.’ Likewise, as Kathryn Wheeler (2014:8) and Colin Fudge & Janet Rowe (2001:1541) conclude, the processes of ecological modernisation in 1990s Sweden involved the creation of further contradictions whereby rhetorics of ecological modernisation serve as a ‘ploy’ to cover increasing individualisation, typified in individual acts such as the growth of household recycling and ethical consumerism alongside an increasingly globalised Swedish society.

The Swedish national legislature, the Riksdag, is at the present time composed of eight different parties, whilst Sweden as a whole is currently undergoing a period of political fragmentation (Aylott, Bergman & Blomgren 2013:151-156) with increasing difficulty for any one movement or party to take a leading role. This situation has created new ironies and contradictions in the political landscape and new complexities and challenges for sustainable governance.

When seeking to understand the case of contemporary Sweden, it is thus necessary to accommodate the apparent paradoxes presented by Swedes who might campaign for better public transport and condemn the loss of green space in the urban realm, all ostensibly environmental goods, but take long haul flights to Asia for a winter holiday and consume products manufactured in the developing world which lead to the country being responsible for equivalent to 117 per cent of domestic carbon emissions overseas (Stockholm Environment Institute 2009). This apparent paradox is reflective of the distinction made by Andrew Dobson between maximalist and minimalist environmentalism (Dobson 2002:13), or between the ideological and the normative approaches to environmental action which form a core interest of this study.

1.7 Three case studies of practice

The complexities of the situation outlined above influence the way in which this study approaches the concept of a Swedish environmental norms. As Mark Deutze points out in his discussion of the media of the late modern period, journalism can be seen as the primary sense making practice of modernity (2007:673), and so it is in public media that such narrative practice is to be found. As previously outlined, the initial aim of this thesis is to provide an overview of the way in which environmental questions are discussed in Sweden through analysis of a sample of public media, using a quantitative methodology explained in the subsequent chapters. This data can then be used to analyse the active aspects of discursive change by studying the strategies and methods used by different actors in order to gain traction in debates through deeper textual analyses – the processes by which the normative values and social identities are constructed and used. This leads into consideration of the establishment of unified narratives and the common narrative strands which dominate and influence the real outcomes of environmental flashpoints, the generation of futures and the relationship between those seeking change and existing narratives of modernity. Such an approach also helps to solve the apparent conflict between the society-as-movement approach suggested by Jamison and Ring and the inevitable indifference and ethical diversity of different groups and voices. This problematique is examined via three case studies, which I now briefly outline.

This study focuses specifically on the four decades from 1970 to 2010 and the evolution of environment in the public space. This covers a period in which the Social-Democratic hegemony of spatial planning in Sweden was seriously challenged and ends in the contemporary stage of Swedish politics and globalised environmentalism. It is also the period in which Sweden has come to market itself as a globally responsible environmental citizen, yet remains wed to a highly exceptionalist view of its place in the global environment.

The three debates studied in chapters five, six and seven of this thesis have each been chosen to reflect particular stages in the last forty years, and to provide an overview of the period as a whole through their linking. Firstly, in chapter five the planning and eventual cancellation of the Vindelälvs hydroelectric scheme in 1970 is looked at in terms

of the media pressure to preserve it, followed by the inconclusive 1980 national referendum on nuclear power in Sweden in chapter six. In chapter seven focus is placed on the 2010 Swedish general and municipal elections in which the proposed Stockholm Bypass motorway project played a divisive and decisive role. All of them provide an opportunity to document the existence of Jamison and Ring's supposed 'society as movement' phenomenon and all of them exhibit what, from an 'environmentalist' standpoint, is potential for the realisation of environmental goods, namely the retention of upland river ecosystems, the phasing out of first-phase nuclear energy and the stopping of a large motorway project respectively.

These three case studies cover a geographically disparate area, encompassing a modern capital city, a regionalised debate and a blanket test of national opinion. They also span a period in which Sweden has undergone major and significant changes in both its economic situation and its place in the world. The forty-year time frame runs parallel to advances in environmental science, particularly in the understanding of global climate, that have radically transformed the way in which the environment is discussed and altered the very notion of environmental goods themselves. They have produced ironies in the battle between ecosystem preservation and the desire to produce low-carbon energy, seen the rise of the political ecology movement in both Sweden and across Europe and created moral challenges for the Scandinavian countries themselves with regard to their position as consumers at the top of the global food chain. How these desired outcomes relate to the values expressed in the debates themselves underpins this thesis, with the achievement of environmental goods³ inextricably interwoven with a wider process of constructing and reproducing values of Swedish modernity.⁴

It should also be emphasised that it is not the intention of this study to discuss whether or not Sweden is any 'better' at the environment than any other country - that is a question to which environmental science can best provide the answers - but whilst there remains such a strong interest in Swedish environmentalism it is worth asking questions of its cultural and narrative foundations, yet also of its persuasive potential and its limitations. To identify a particularly Swedish environmental discourse is one

³ For an explanation of the concept of goods *cf.* MacIntyre 1981: 185-189

⁴ *Cf.* Anthony Giddens general definition of modernity 1991: 14-16

thing, but an understanding of its moral framework and how this functions in practice is potentially more useful in discussions of Sweden in global context. When communities of debate build narratives, who builds them, who gains from them, and who can change them? As Teun A Van Dijk notes, ‘discourse is an inherent part of society and partakes in all of society’s injustices, as well as in the struggle against them. Critical scholars of discourse do not merely observe such linkages ... but aim to be agents of change and do so in solidarity with those who need change most’ (1997: 23). It is for this reason that MacIntyre’s emphasis on practice-based ethics in argument is so suitable for the purposes of this study, as is elaborated on in the following chapter.

2. A new environmental rhetoric? Solving the ethical paradox of modernity

2.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to elucidate some of the issues around both the identification of environmental ethics in practice and of the challenge of creating a specific rhetoric of 'environment'. Seeking to locate a Swedish environmental ethic in practice and speculate on its construction using the relativistic approach to contemporary morality identified by Alasdair MacIntyre, it assesses the potential for an understanding of rhetorical process in engineering conceptual change as well as the role of the environmentalist and other characters as a narrative construct. In particular, it highlights two key concepts which are important to how this study approaches its source material; the idea of traditions and how they can be transformed, and the distinction made by MacIntyre with regard to internal and external goods in practice (1981:188) to achieve desirable developmental outcomes.

Looking at the limitations of ideological perspectives, and by discussing the shortcomings of 'environmental' discussion as a way of understanding behaviour and outcomes, it instead suggests a form of general framing by reflecting on the overlap with other forms of environmental framing, and explaining how the concept of a textual ethos can be effectively used as a tool for understanding the total characteristics of texts in social context, but also in relation to ideas about the self, self-identity and individual citizens within the context of late modernity. By extension this also leads into a discussion of different values and attributes as part of a discursive field and the role of instrumental morality in environmental debates.

It begins by problematising environment as a conceptual term, discussing the issues surrounding environmental topicality and the flexible relationship between environmental rhetorics and other discourses in light of the work of George Myerson and Yvonne Rydin on environmental rhetoric. This leads into a discussion of the limitations of globalised universal approaches to environmentalism and the friction between situated and effective environmental action on the one hand and global

discussions of environmental problems on the other. From this it argues that both linguistically and spatially global environmental discourses are self-limiting. This is followed by a discussion of which community is the target of discursive change in any particular study, and the problems of delineating national environments in a globalised world. It then moves to investigate the potential of a values based approach to environmental change and assesses the various framing tools available when seeking to analyse specific cases of environmental conflict, asserting a commonality between the characteristics of texts, individuals and the general character of debates in terms of the efficacy that might be achieved.

2.2 The failure of a singular rhetoric of 'the environment'

There are myriad challenges when looking for a specific rhetoric of environment, in part because there can exist many different kinds of 'environments'. This can range from the environment as a ministerial portfolio to the environment as personal experience, a topic in primary school teaching or a United Nations conference on climate change. There are discourses of global environment but equally so highly localised conceptions of the world, of community and of urban space. Much rhetorical work on environmental debate is, as illustrated by Craig Waddell et al. (Waddell 1998), deeply rooted not only in the English language, but in the American environmentalism of the nineteen-seventies, eighties and nineties together with American discourses on wilderness, community and even the American political spectrum. The possible existence of specifically environmental (as opposed to national) discourses and rhetorical forms has received relatively little attention (perhaps for the reasons outlined above), but a significant contribution is George Myerson and Yvonne Rydin's *The Language of Environment: A new rhetoric* (1996), in their efforts to comprehensively map and explicitly link the fields of environmental and rhetorical study.

In terms of defining the communicative space in which environment 'happens' Myerson and Rydin refer to a 'rhetorical web' (Myerson & Rydin: 11), a network of words and phrases which they claim constitute environmental discourse. This is subdivided into individual topic analysis such as Resources and Energy, Biodiversity, Population and Earth, Planet, and Gaia. (Myerson & Rydin: 79), or as Myerson and Rydin express it:

Each word marks a cluster of arguments, a topic; and each topic would be a different way to enter the net [of environmental discussion], to enter from another angle.

In such a view environmental topicality thus becomes a means of approach to environmental conflict, but is not always what is being argued about in itself. As will subsequently be argued, however, environmental arguments need not use environmental topics to achieve efficacy. This is subsequently further discussed in relation to rhetorics of pragmatics and prudence in the work of Ruth Amossy and Jim A. Kuypers. It is also conceivable that environmental topics might be deployed as a means of arguing for non environmental goods, as is also posited in the case studies featured in subsequent chapters. This potentially means that a focus on environmental topics can become self-limiting when power is exercised in other types of forum and that an 'environet' should be extended to include all rhetorical aspects of specific debates in which environmental goods are to be achieved.

More interestingly in terms of this study's interest in environmental morality and the character of 'the environmentalist' as actor and agent, the authors seek an environmental ethos in the texts they are studying and discuss the role of ethos in environmental debates, including what ethos is present in certain contexts. They note, 'the ethos of environmental arguments plays a central role, for it links strongly to notions of authority, legitimation and the criteria by which the argument as a whole is to be judged' (Myerson & Rydin: 119). In their environmental rhetoric Myerson and Rydin identify several different types of ethos, which legitimise presentation of topics by framing them within positive aims. These qualities include characteristics such as worldliness, objective emotion, reverent objectivity, reassuring realism, inclusive far sightedness, technical vision and essential vision. These narrative virtues thus function not merely as qualities of texts but as frames of total argument or textual identities. As is later discussed, an emphasis on such characteristics is potentially more useful than a rational approach to argumentation in understanding communicative action and mapping textual characteristics.

The authors also develop a more explicit form of association, which they label as associative argumentation (Myerson & Rydin:171). This is a means of presentation by

which an environmental issue is collocated with an already popular political priority or topic. In their model this is subdivided into nation and resources, progress vs. regress and delegitimising dangers. This is in effect an example of textual cohesion and internal structure of texts, mapping the juxtaposition of topics and themes to make them into cognates, as is discussed in chapter three in relation to the work of Norman Fairclough (1992).

One example given is the implicit connection made in a wide range of media between the Scottish National Party and control of Scotland's energy resources. The concept of associative argumentation thus recognises the implicit links engineered between ostensibly different cultural and political discourses. This overlapping of values and identities, intentional or otherwise, is crucial to a contextualised understanding of environmental argumentation and of the diversity of environmental debate. As is subsequently illustrated, this same soft nationalism is evident in certain aspects of the Swedish debate, particularly regarding the relationship between the nation and nuclear policy.⁵ It also plays a role in the discussion of parallel European modernities and the comparative case of Scotland in the concluding chapter.

Despite their comprehensive system of mapping, there remain certain issues in using the approach taken by Myerson & Rydin as they pursue generic 'global' environmental discourses, in particular the aforementioned focus on environmental topics. These stem largely from their embracing of the global perspective, which does not address the situated nature of many of the arguments encountered.

This critique of communicative universality is similar to what Paul Adams and Astrid Gynhild (2013) have identified in their studies of web-based environmental campaigning, arguing that outcomes of such communication are heavily contingent on geographical and social space. Likewise in relation to Swedish domestic development, Åsa Boholm's (2009) study of the conflicts surrounding the Hallandsås tunnelling project in southern Sweden identifies differing 'ontologies of risk' between local opposition and internationalised technical discourse. Such a method of rhetorical

⁵ Cf. discussion of Swedish nuclear policy and national security pp 165-166

analysis and the discourse studied is consequently not so much universal as international, monocultural and (apparently) monolingual, and such generic categorisations, particularly with regard to possible topics, can only be used in the loosest of terms. ‘Environment’ thus risks becoming predefined, underlining the need to situate environmental discussion in its cultural, and perhaps non-environmental, context. This builds upon Alasdair MacIntyre’s central assertion that the very frameworks of discussion and basic concepts such as justice and goods within modernity vary temporally and geographically (1966: 2), and as such that any discussion of environmental ethics or morality must come to terms with this variation. Similarly, Christopher Berglund and Simon Matti (2006) have sought to problematise the idea of environmentalism in contemporary Sweden as a question of informed choice in which Swedes are more rationally capable of environmental decision making, instead re-asserting the importance of an understanding of what they label the ‘citizenry’ and a values based approach. This entails Swedish environmental choices being characterised in terms of moral agency as much as consumerism, whilst also being aware of the co-productive nature of environmental ethics and behaviour. In a similar vein, Bengtsson, Hansen & Harddason et al. (2014:180) conclude that the Swedish and Nordic voter is not exceptional in their views or habits when making political choices. With this in mind, it is necessary to consider how people are guided in their choices by both structures and individual agents working within them.

As Hugh Ward (2008) and Lori Poloni-Staudinger (2008) among others have asserted, the success of environmentalism in different types of state is heavily dependent on the ability of actors to drive agendas, with different variants of democracy potentially producing different environmental goods. This underlines the secondary focus of this study, looking not just to make conclusions about Sweden, but also about the potential or problems of applying blanket understanding of the environment globally without paying attention to the circumstances of their construction and the limitations of their context. In seeking to explain this friction I now more extensively discuss MacIntyre’s critique of modern moral discourse in relation to modern Sweden.

2.3 Alasdair MacIntyre’s critique of modernity

As Michael Bruner and Max Oelschlaeger have noted, when discussing environmentalism it is worth applying Alasdair MacIntyre’s belief that ‘post-

Enlightenment ethical discourse is a failed project' (Bruner & Oelshlchlager 1994: 207), and that the desire to both understand and drive environmental questions in abstract and rationalised ethical terms is a futile exercise. Likewise, as Greg Myers & Phillip Macnaghten (1996) have argued in response to the failures of the crisis rhetoric of 1990s global environmentalism, there emerges a gulf between rhetoric and practice which impedes practical action on the part of the citizenry. This is also similar to Manuel Arias-Maldonado's (2013:430) identification of the need to 'adopt an understanding of sustainability as a general, pluralistic, open principle that allows for many different solutions to be democratically discussed and acted upon.' Furthermore, as Jonas Anshelm (2005: 120) has noted in a specifically Swedish context, enlightenment preference for effectiveness and efficiency would not appear to have reduced the importance of less tangible and less empirical values in determining developmental policy.

MacIntyre's key contributions to analysing the moral framework of the modern world are to be found in two of his works, *A Short History of Ethics* (1966) and *After Virtue: A Study in Moral theory* (1981). Dealing with the legacy of the Scottish and European enlightenment, a central strand of MacIntyre's thinking is that the post-enlightenment rationalism which nominally defined industrial modernity and its entire political landscape is, in fact, a fallacy. This is summarised in his assertion that 'the project of finding a rational vindication of morality has decisively failed.' (MacIntyre 1981:56). Although MacIntyre's project envisages a return to an Aristotelean universal standard in some form, his critique of modernity rejects epistemological considerations in the production of knowledges and evolution of discourse, instead arguing for a practice-based analysis. As will be returned to in the concluding chapter, this has implications for communicative approaches to contemporary problems and bears a resemblance to Jim A. Kuypers' (1996) concept of prudence in rhetoric and the position of rhetorical agents through *doxa* and practice in context. This also entails a move away from an emphasis on structure over practice. This is further discussed with regard to the agency of authors in the following chapter.

MacIntyre also notes that protest (in which environmental protest can be included) is, in rational terms, not a means of argumentation but a shrill recognition of the

incommensurability of two standpoints (1981: 71) Bruner and Oelschleager thus question the efficacy of environmental argumentation in tackling environmental problems and challenge the central metaphors and argumentative strategies of ‘environmentalists’, including the environmentalist as character. The solution, they argue, is to study the processes of ideological formation and the relative success of those trying to bring about cultural change. To this end, they identify MacIntyre’s emphasis on the pluralistic nature of environmental philosophies that construct competing and complementary knowledges, often paradoxically.

In communicative terms, this also presupposes conflict and disagreement, but conflict and disagreement limited by the moral and intellectual traditions in the particular time and space occupied by agents. (1981:12) The tendency of environmentalism to presuppose an environmental morality thus also casts new light on MacIntyre’s belief that ‘the sole reality of distinctively moral discourse is the attempt of one will to align the attitudes, feelings, preferences and choices with its own.’ (1981: 24). Similarly, he argues that the creation of morality and moral frameworks in societies should be best understood as an index of its conflicts (1981: 254). This is particularly relevant in terms of the identification of the three conflicts which form the basis of this study.

2.4 Understanding traditions

Key to MacIntyre’s approach is the concept of a tradition. In a similar vein to the sociologist and theorist of late modernity Anthony Giddens’ description of reflective selves as the primary point of reference in contemporary life worlds (1991:75), MacIntyre asserts that modernity partitions each human life into segments, each with its own norms and behaviour. This thus constructs narratives of tradition (1981:210), which in terms of the self create ‘a specific past that is present to some degree in my present.. and thus insofar as the virtues sustain the relationships required for practices, they have to sustain relationships to the past, and to the future, as well as the present. (*ibid*: 221).

This feeds into MacIntyre’s interest in the narrative creation of virtues (of the self) and goods (to be achieved through action) in the context of practiced traditions, as outlined by Roger King (1999), whilst John Davenport cites the environment as a ripe arena for

the implementation of MacIntyre's approach, (2012: 44) using environmental awareness as a prime example of the potential for narrative self and the unity of narratives which can temporally link past, present and future. This is also similar to what Giddens has identified as one of the features of self-narrative within modernity where 'the future does not just consist of the expectation of events yet to come. 'Futures' are organised reflexively in the present'. (1991: 29). It is also related to Giddens' observation that 'the reflexivity of modernity extends to the core of the self' in which selves becomes reflexive projects that constantly reconstruct themselves (*ibid*:32).

The attainment or realisation of environmental goods in determining future action thus depends heavily on the ability of their proponents to persuasively articulate them in narrative terms, often on a case by case basis using strategies distant from the initial motivations of 'environmentalists' themselves. They are instead actively planned by those in charge and eagerly taken up and repeated by their supporters. Fundamentally this depends, I argue, on the construction and manipulation of narratives – of providing a contextual narrative to experience and a unity of understanding between what is already established and the hypothetical outcomes of future action. This narrative approach to the actions of moral projects can be summarised in MacIntyre's assertion:

Man is in his actions and practices, as well as in his fictions, essentially a storytelling animal ... the key question for men is not their own authorship; I can only answer the question 'What am I to do?' if I can answer the prior question 'Of what story or stories do I find myself a part? We enter human society, that is, with one or more imputed characters – roles into which we have been drafted – and we have to learn what they are in order to understand how others respond to us and how our responses to them are apt to be construed.'" (MacIntyre 1981: 201)

This relativistic approach can be contrasted with the 'myth' of primitive ecological wisdom discussed by Milton in terms of the relationship between practice, ideology and 'enlightenment' (1996:113), whilst this tack is also taken by Lars Löfqvist in his attempt to morally justify solutions to nuclear waste management in Sweden (Löfqvist 2008). Likewise, as Jason Hannan (2013:186) argues, MacIntyre is also overlooked as a communications theorist in his own right, in that such a communicative approach to environmental ethics is of great use when attempting to identify coherent moral frameworks in contemporary environmental practice. Hannan describes MacIntyre's

concept of a tradition in his explanation of MacIntyre's communicative potential as 'best ... understood as a collective conversation extended through history about a shared set of social practices' (Hannan 2013:186). This is further discussed in chapter three in relation to the interaction between the identities of texts from print media and the characterisation of movements as a whole. I now turn to a second key concept of MacIntyre's critique – the concept of how to quantify the goods of any given situation within traditions.

2.5 Environmental goods and establishing practice

In line with this project's focus on efficacy over the discourse produced by 'environmentalists', it takes as case studies events which might normatively be described as environmental conflicts but surveys a wider range of public and political media than that issued by environmental campaigners, including arguments from nominally anti-environmental voices. In environmental debates this provides an overview of the degree to which environmental voices influence eventual outcomes and the extent to which they are required to transform and integrate their narratives with the temporal and geographical context. This study thus also situates its examples of practice as more than an exchange of finite facts which cumulatively determine the victor. It is in this regard that the second of the two main concepts in MacIntyre's critique of modernity is relevant; the idea of internal and external goods.

MacIntyre's narrative critique is grounded partially in the claims of emotivism and the direct link between argument and action. In this respect it shares a commonality with John Austin's (1992) declaration that language and communication is a fundamentally performative act. Consciously or unconsciously, an utterance or communicative act takes place with the aim of achieving a physical outcome that transcends the idea of truth statements and their acceptance or rejection as the basis of communication (1992: 2). This is also picked up upon by Ruth Amossy (2002:466) in her explanation of the pragmatism of rhetorical doxa, as is more extensively discussed in the concluding chapter in relation to the work of Amossy, Kuypers and Mats Rosengren. Austin's most salient point is that within language study it is not what is being said which is important but rather intention, expressed in what he labels an illocutionary act. This manifests itself in the force of a statement (Austin 1992:120) (Fairclough 1992:82), a feature which is integral to the way in which agents try to achieve goods. This reflects MacIntyre's own

critique of emotivism and moral universality which ‘does not attend sufficiently to the distinction between the meaning of a statement which remains constant between different uses, and the variety of uses to which one and the same statement can be put’ (MacIntyre 1966: 251)

This also has implications for what can be considered environmental goods and *visa versa*. Under MacIntyre’s model it is possible to achieve an internal good through the practice of environmentalism because the traditions of environmentalism demand it. The example given by MacIntyre (1981:188) of a child playing chess can be read in two different ways. It is possible to engage in practice for its own sake, in this case enjoyment of the game, but also to achieve a different end such as financial reward. In the context of the current study, this allows for example the existence of both internal and external goods around a singular practice, with environmental protection as an end in itself coexisting with external goods such as electoral success or a profile as a modern and progressive political actor. The implications of this distinction are more extensively discussed in the concluding chapter in relation to the future direction of environmental practice.

MacIntyre thus engages with the roles of intention and agent in moral argument, rejecting abstract morality in favour of a situated and communicative approach to argument and beliefs which is based on a pragmatic approach to the resolution of such arguments. The main currency of such a perspective is the concept of virtues, or goods, but not in an absolute sense, as is subsequently elaborated upon. Because MacIntyre’s narrative approach firmly rejects the existence of any coherent moral framework to modernity the goods, environmental, social or political, are reduced to communicatively produced and reproduced characteristics. They are moral in that they represent the character of a tradition, a speaker or an institution, and ethical in the sense that they embody a certain ethos, but as Paul Kelly (1994: 132) notes, the ethical self is a ‘socially constituted moral identity.’, bearing a great resemblance to Norman Fairclough’s understanding of ethos (Fairclough 1992: 166), as is discussed in the following chapter.

The relationship between traditions and their goods is further expanded on by John Horton and Susan Mendus (1994: 9) in their discussion of MacIntyre’s ‘narrative self’

which ‘draws attention to the importance of the background circumstances and moral context which inform and make intelligible those choices but which are themselves unchosen.’ Such a perspective is key to the relation of self identity, values and decision making to the identities of authors and their texts.

This flexible view of environmental goods and their associated values is of interest because of the predisposition amongst environmentalists to seek the extension and spread of competing types of environmental morality and universal knowledge. MacIntyre’s proposition that post-enlightenment philosophy is an incomplete project finds in the divergence and incoherency of global environmentalism perhaps its greatest proof.

This does not, however, mean that environmentalists do not and cannot act as agents of environmentalism or as informers of the moral agency of others. People, organisations and other types of voice can and do act to change the way in which societies and people construct narratives about their past, present and future selves. Their success in doing so is determined by their ability to build narratives with which others can align themselves, reflecting Macintyre’s assertion that moral argument first demands an understanding of the narratives in which such standards are produced. (1981:216) Identifying such traditions, their requisite goods and communities of argument thus demands a delineation of the global environmental space, to which I now briefly turn.

2.6 Determining a community of argument: Local vs Global

As Ann Gill and Karen Whedbee (Gill, Whedbee 1997:157) succinctly state, ‘Although descriptions of the ends of rhetoric vary widely, the consistent theme is that rhetoric is a type of instrumental discourse. It is, in one way or another, a vehicle for responding to, reinforcing, or altering the understandings of the community.’

What the community identified by Gill and Whedbee is in the multilevel environments of late modernity though remains open to debate. There exists the globalised intergovernmental arena of climate negotiations, in which ‘The Nordic Way’ wishes to take part, but parallel to this there exists Northern Europe, the country of Sweden or the residents of a river valley threatened by a hydro-electric project in the sub-arctic peripheries of the national picture. Within the dominant metaphor of globalisation

which appeared in the latter half of the 20th century, the global village, there is no guarantee that processes of interaction are the same as processes of perception, and that an assumption of uniformity on global issues is something of a false premise (Stearn 1968: 214), even when the environment itself might increasingly be constructed as a global problem by environmentalists themselves. As Timothy Luke emphasises in his reading of Bruno Lefebvre:

To discuss “the environment” in global or local terms is to participate in the production of space as a social product ... No national space will be left to be discovered, preserved or safeguarded as sovereign territory if it can be seen only as a pre-existent externality which shall always remain untrammelled in human action. (Luke 2009: 18)

Luke then elaborates on the notion of a malleable environmental space, asserting that:

It is imperative for any power/knowledge critique to investigate who sets the possibilities, what is the realm of the possible imagined to be, and how are they all to be realized’ (Luke 2009: 19).

It is this need to understand the setting of possibilities in the flexible notion of environment and environmental debates which makes a narrative approach so effective. This reflects the ecophilosopher Arran Gare’s conclusion that MacIntyre’s approach to societal ethical narratives ‘solve the problem of relativism resulting from the acknowledgment of the perspectival nature of knowledge.’ (Gare 1998). In a world of multiple knowledges, paradigms and political positions, an eco-philosophical approach which embraces the multiple and interdependent traditions and identities inherent in any society is the most conducive method of understanding its collective norms.

2.7 Framing characteristics

As outlined, a narrative approach to environmental identities and social roles allows a pluralistic and overlapping model of the characteristics belonging to actors, be that individuals, organisations or the media in which they are reported. As such, the allocation of multiple (in this case textual) identities functions as a form of frame analysis, facilitating a quantitative approach to environmental communication. A consistent approach to framing means that it is possible to deal with large amounts of source material rather than attempting to merely draw qualitative conclusions from ‘key’ texts – in this case drawn from a corpus of over nine hundred texts spanning forty years – it becomes easier to map the overlap of political and social spectra in a less arbitrary

manner and to establish narrative continuity across time, media and the respective debates, as well as to make more relevant links to secondary research. Such an approach thus demands a universal model of analysis which might work in any circumstance and address some of the issues outlined above, hence the need to apply a general analytical method. This takes the form of applying labels to texts characterising their most salient characteristics. Rather than simply utilising what may be considered ‘moral’ characteristics, such a method facilitates the integration of new types of virtue, whereby characteristics such as economism and modernity itself (in a reflexive and self-aware form) can gain equal weight to more traditional properties such as honesty, altruism or the traditional ‘environmental’ ethical building blocks of far-sightedness or aesthetics. How these frames are produced from texts is the subject of the following chapters.

It should be noted that this differs fundamentally from the approach to political moral frameworks suggested and popularised by George Lakoff (1994), which presupposes an arbitrary division between the ‘left’ and ‘right’ (written within the confined context of American politics and the ‘war between liberalism and conservatism’) and a moral versus rational dichotomy in public discourse that is based on binary difference.

This frame-based approach to communication is a diverse field, with many similar attempts at a uniform framing process. The basic aim of framing as a method is to develop a categorisation of communicative acts in public life which can be applied to media and allow each text to receive a label for the purposes of categorisation and presentation, dealing with the fundamental characterisation of the argument from the author to the recipient. For this reason, and as is discussed in the following chapter, this study applies the social-linguist Norman Fairclough’s concept of a textual ethos as a unit, whereby a diverse (but not mutually exclusive) number of ethos frames are developed as a means of characterising the overall qualities of texts. There are, however, a variety of different approaches to the framing of interactions, which I now briefly discuss.

Framing as a process of communicative categorisation draws on the basic concept of frame analysis developed by Gregory Bateson (1973), and developed by Erving Goffman and Jim. Kuypers among others (Goffman 1974) (Kuypers 2010), though each

with variations according to need. Goffman develops Bateson's original frame idiom in *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience* (Goffman 1974), writing:

I assume that definitions of a situation are built up in accordance with principles of organisation which govern events – at least social ones – and our subjective involvement in them; frame is the word I use to refer to such of these basic elements as I am able to identify. (Goffman: 11)

Goffman asserts that in mediated experience and narrative there are a finite number of primary symbolic frameworks which can be recognised and consciously implemented, a viewpoint developed in a rhetorical direction by Jim Kuypers with regard to news framing, whilst the eco-critic Axel Goodbody has used a version of frame analysis in analysing the communicative potential of addressing climate change in writing and literature (Goodbody 2011). In *Framing Analysis from a Rhetorical Perspective* (Kypers 2010), the rhetorical application of frame analysis is further developed. Kypers asserts that a qualitative rhetorical application of frame analysis, in many ways similar to Myerson and Rydin's textual categorisations and Fairclough's interpretation of ethos, can investigate communication in a way that quantitative sociological analysis cannot (Kuypers: 308). By looking not just at the content of texts but at the context of texts over time, Kypers argues that a much more nuanced view of media rhetoric is possible and that t frames provide a perfect arena for discussion of the phenomenon when seeking to group large groups of media.

The difference between Goffman's notion of a frame and the way that it is used in this project and by Kuypers is that frames are not conceived of as static in Kuypers' view – they are instead subject to rearticulation, reinvention and evolution. This also reflects Macintyre's own criticism of Goffman's perspective on the frame as being false in its assumption of a self as substantial and not as a question of role playing (Macintyre 1981: 32) This can be seen in the context of MacIntyre's concept of a tradition. The concept of the frame as an idiom for understanding culture and environment in a Swedish context is also extensively discussed by Karin Beland Lindahl (2008:74), tackling the same challenges of typology and application of the idiom. Moreover, Goffman's own use of the frame functions, as Luiz Carlos Baptista notes, 'as a kind of "toolbox" from which his own arguments would be developed.' (Baptista 2003:199).

MacIntyre's dramatisitic approach also bears a resemblance to the frame idiom as a means of textual classification expressed in the concept of the terministic screen developed by the rhetorician Kenneth Burke. In *Language as Symbolic Action* (Burke 1966). Burke characterises language and communication as a series of coded symbols from a strongly dramatisitic perspective. Addressing the idea of specific vocabularies and grammar, Burke asserts that 'any given terminology is a reflection of reality, by its very nature as a terminology it must be a selection of reality; and to this extent it must also function as a deflection of reality(1966:45). Burke's central idea with the idiom of the terministic screen is that readings of objects, texts and events always occur in focused terms, asserting that 'many of the 'observations' are but implications of the particular terminology of terms in which the observations are made' (1966:46). The result is the presentation of an essential unit of classification, the looking glass of the terministic screen through which an event or object is understood.

As Goodbody has pointed out, a more workable definition of this idiom is to be found in Todd Gitlin's assertion that 'Frames are principles of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters.' (Gitlin 1980: 6) In this sense, they are similar to Fairclough's understanding of interactional ethos, presenting an overview of a rhetorical artefact which encapsulates the sum total and effect of its different rhetorical elements – a quantitative unit of rhetorical currency – as well as encapsulating MacIntyre's approach to self-understanding and contextual narrative.

Goodbody also highlights a distinction between 'deep frames' and advocate frames', whereby deep frames are those to which cultures and life-worlds are tied and advocate frames those which attempt to consciously manipulate and transform elements of reality for their own ends through rhetorical device. Within this exists the idea of context-specific master frames and dominant cultural references in different cultures and discourses. Goodbody for example asserts that the idea of preventing environmental holocaust is a master frame in contemporary German culture and as such has been used by the environmental movement as a means of moving away from traditional 'blood and soil' attitudes to the natural world, thus presenting environmental degradation as an ethical problem. (Goodbody 2011:15).

Despite Gittlin's general definition, different attempts at framing can, as Dietram Scheufele notes (Scheufele & Tewksbury 2007:5), face significant problems in their typology, becoming so non-specific that it 'subsumes most persuasive effects under the "framing" label and, therefore, obliterates any contribution that framing as a concept could make to a more refined understanding of media effects'. There remain differences between the concept of textual ethos used here and other frame-based approaches, but these differences become largely academic when working in a cross-disciplinary context. They are, in essence, simply different ways of approaching the same process of textual categorisation with the ultimate aim of providing a means of understanding media artefacts on large scales. As such, they are mentioned here as a way of illustrating both that there is no 'best way' of textual labelling and that using one system does not preclude comparison or reference to the other. Furthermore, as Norman Fairclough has said of the diverse nature of textual study, 'there is no set procedure for doing discourse analysis; people approach it in different ways according to the specific nature of the project' (Fairclough 1992: 225). This is something also emphasised by Jonas Anshelm⁶ among others in his work on Swedish environmental thinking (Anshelm 1995) Here the primary concern is with the construction of texts themselves, their general character, and their rearticulation and commonality in a struggle for hegemony over societal futures. It is in this struggle that any Swedish way, should it exist, is potentially to be found. How ethos as a framing tool facilitates such a perspective is explained in the following chapter.

⁶ Anshelm writes that a preoccupation with specific analytical methods can distract from the commonality of similar methods depending on context and purpose, involving both loose broad readings and more quantitative approaches.

3.Ethos as a rhetorical framing tool

3.1 Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapters, any attempt to isolate a normative approach to environmental values and practice in Sweden and elsewhere requires a robust method which can both accommodate the pluralistic nature of the modern public sphere whilst simultaneously allowing for the identification and isolation of a manageable number of core frames of textual character. At the same time, it must also pay close attention to the way texts are constructed in terms of understanding both what they are seeking to do and how they seek to do it, accommodating the concept of interactional character and the communicative self discussed in the previous chapter.

This chapter thus outlines the theoretical tools for analysis of this project's materials and their usefulness in looking at the environment from a rhetorical perspective, a discussion of why they have been chosen and an example of how they are applicable. It begins by assessing Norman Fairclough's text oriented discourse analysis method and its suitability with regards to the ideas of textual character and value developed from Alasdair MacIntyre's narrative theory. This is contrasted with the Foucaultian approach to discourse analysis promoted by theorists such as Stuart Hall and Fairclough himself, arguing that Fairclough's analytical method is ideal for locating MacIntyre's idea of a social self and introducing concepts of prudence and instrumental morality to Fairclough's text-based approach.

Each individual text is thus developed into a picture of the discursive field and the moral characteristics at play. Emphasis is placed on the rhetorical formation of textual ethos and frames as inputs to knowledge formation, and how these identities can be systematised as a means of understanding processes and dynamics of argumentation and agenda setting.

The method presented here is designed to be transferable beyond the scope of this study and to function as a more general means of mapping texts, whilst I also argue that it provides a much needed link between the abstract elements of MacIntyre's narrative theory and the challenges of working with real world texts from a large corpus, particularly given the emphasis on practice favoured by MacIntyre.

3.2 Rhetoric and the textual ethos

The 'touchstone' of the rhetorical system, as it is described by Patricia Bizzell and Bruce Herzberg (Bizzell & Herzberg 1990) in Aristotle's classical rhetoric builds on the idea that successful argumentation and attempts at communication will to differing degrees use one or more of three modes of persuasion or *piesteis*; *ethos*, *logos* and *pathos* (Aristotle, Kennedy 2007: 8). MacIntyre's critique of contemporary moral argument rests on the assertion that classical appeals to different aspects of social communication have in fact become nothing more than discordant dramatic identities, and that the rational aspects of arguments are in fact false in a modern context. Appeals to *ethos* seek to persuade an audience that the speaker embodies the same set of moral values and judgement as themselves. As previously discussed, this plays a central role in Norman Fairclough's notion of social selves (Fairclough 1994:167) albeit in a nuanced form. *Logos* is an appeal to present an argument based ostensibly on reason, rationality and logic. *Pathos* meanwhile deals with appeals to emotion, defined by Kennedy as 'a temporary state of feeling awakened by circumstance.' (Aristotle, Kennedy 2007: 317). Given MacIntyre's critique of rationalism and emotivism, this weights modern communication disproportionately towards the construction of character. The supposition made here is thus that rhetorical acts and instrumental argument can be integrated into the concept of a textual ethos that emphasises the inherent character and characteristics of authors both individual and corporate.

The dual meaning of classical and contemporary interpretation of *ethos* as a term is further dealt with by Ruth Amossy (2014) in her discussion of the differences in sociolinguistic and classical *ethos*, as well as their commonality. This focus on the self, both textual and of the author, in MacIntyre's work, also reflects Giddens' previously mentioned emphasis on the self as part of reflexive narrative within modernity and as a primary point of reference for contemporary society. It should also be further emphasised that the promotion of *ethos* as a framing tool differs from the aforementioned rhetorical framework of a topic, or *topos*, in that it deals not with what is being discussed directly but with the content and overall character of each piece of material, irrespective of the topical framework in which it is constructed or reproduced. This normative modern definition of *ethos* utilised by Fairclough and Amossy (Fairclough 1992:166, Amossy 2014:14) thus functions as a more general synonym for

identity. Neither should it be confused with the concept of theme in a text, as is subsequently discussed. It is also wider than the definition of ethos previously discussed in the work of George Myerson and Yvonne Rydin, as outlined below.

The ethos of a particular text can thus be a synthesis of several elements (including topicality), a fact implicit in Fairclough's discussion of rearticulation and discursive hegemony which assumes elements of commonality and overlap. This also assumes commonality between the characteristics of the text, their author and their function. It is thus a form of framing focusing not just on the content of texts, but also on their context and thus on their communicative character.

3.3 From text to context

The biggest challenge in understanding the interplay between individual voices seeking to wield and execute any agency in development debates and the discursive field at large is how the two should be linked, including the structures in which they are situated. Kuypers (1996) has suggested that move toward critical modern rhetorics of textuality need not necessitate neglect of the role of authors as agent, provided there is a doxological understanding of the process of composition. This entails deeper discussions of practice and action, as well as introducing social power and an interest in what texts are doing in a 'relativized [sic] world' (1996:252). A more developed discussion of the doxological nature of political discussion occurs in chapter eight. Here, however, I focus on the need for a working method of textual analysis that can both produce manageable textual frames and situate itself within a larger social field.

Although it is possible to assert the existence of narrative traditions with the support of select texts, when seeking to create a historical account which relies heavily on the notion of conceptual change and narrative adaption it is vital that a comprehensive mapping system be utilised to support the 'typicality' of key texts. This is an issue addressed by Dannenberg, Hausman, Lawrence & Powell (2012) in their attempt to combine methodical linguistic analysis of environmental activists with the identification of practiced everyday moralities. As discussed in the previous chapter, this entails a consistent method of reading that directly extrapolates from the construction of texts to their social position – the juncture at which they achieve efficacy or otherwise. It also entails a survey of a large enough corpus of material to be able to argue more

persuasively for the existence of general values, especially given the emphasis placed on the idea of moral and identity norms over the importance of straightforward ideological persuasion and dissemination. Any one of these individual rhetorical acts – be they political speeches, news reports, cultural essays or pamphlets – constitute part of the collective discursive arena, and it is through the understanding of the acts themselves that the processes, ideologies and nuances of the environmental agenda can be grasped. For this reason the primary focus in this project is in the mixture of opinion, reactive news reporting and pro-active news writing in mainstream newspapers rather than from environmentalists themselves within the environmental movement.

3.4 Textually Oriented Discourse Analysis (TODA) and practice

Seeking to unify linguistic and sociological approaches to discourse analysis, in *Discourse and Social Change* (1992) Norman Fairclough utilises an approach to discourse as a concept based on the work of Michel Foucault and attempts to combine a methodical approach to language analysis with a clear understanding of the role played by language and communication in social action and world building. Although Fairclough takes a basic approach to the discursive field that subscribes to the Foucaultian idea of discourse as a manifestation of power⁷, he expresses serious reservations about other aspects of the Foucaultian approach (Fairclough 1992: 56). Central to this is a desire to more closely relate discussions of language and power to instances of practice. His main criticism and subsequent development is that:

The questionable assumption (made by Foucault) is that one can extrapolate from structure to practice, that one can arrive at conclusions about practice without directly analysing real instances of it, including texts, that practice is considerably more uniform than we have reason to believe; that the extent to which and ways in which practice is determined by structures are less variable than they would appear to be; and that the determination of which rules or sets of rules are drawn upon in practice is more straightforward than it actually is. In brief, what is missing is any sense that practice has properties of its own which (i) cannot be reduced to the implementation of structures, (ii) imply that how structures figure in practice cannot be assumed, but has to be determined, and (iii) ultimately help to shape structures. (Fairclough 1992: 58)

⁷ Further developed by Stuart Hall among others in terms of cultural theory. Cf. Hall 1997, Davidson 1986:224

This preference for practice is key, bearing in mind the need to emphasise the highly situated nature of environmental knowledge, both in terms of its production and its reproduction. This also helps to introduce concepts of power to discussion of moral narratives, for as Gare identifies, MacIntyre fails to adequately address the role of and creation of power in his narrative work. At the same time, however, MacIntyre's emphasis on practice and the ethical dimensions of textual character mean that Fairclough's approach is a suitable tool for applying his narrative theory to large bodies of text.

A distinct advantage to Fairclough's method is its transparency and uniform structure, making constant attempts to ground examples in reality with the aim of developing generic tools for discourse analysis which can be widely applied. Such an approach to interaction between texts themselves and the social sphere thus connects the composition of texts to their real world effects, an approach also taken by Liz Sharp and Tim Richardson (2001) in their identification of a gap between discourse analytical research and political science research on real outcomes in European environmentalism, and of the relationship between narrative construction and action.

The centre of Fairclough's approach to close textual analysis is the previously discussed three-dimensional model, Textually Oriented Discourse Analysis (*cf.* Fig. 3.1), which unifies three elements which are labelled as *text*, *discursive practice* and *social practice* (1992: 73)

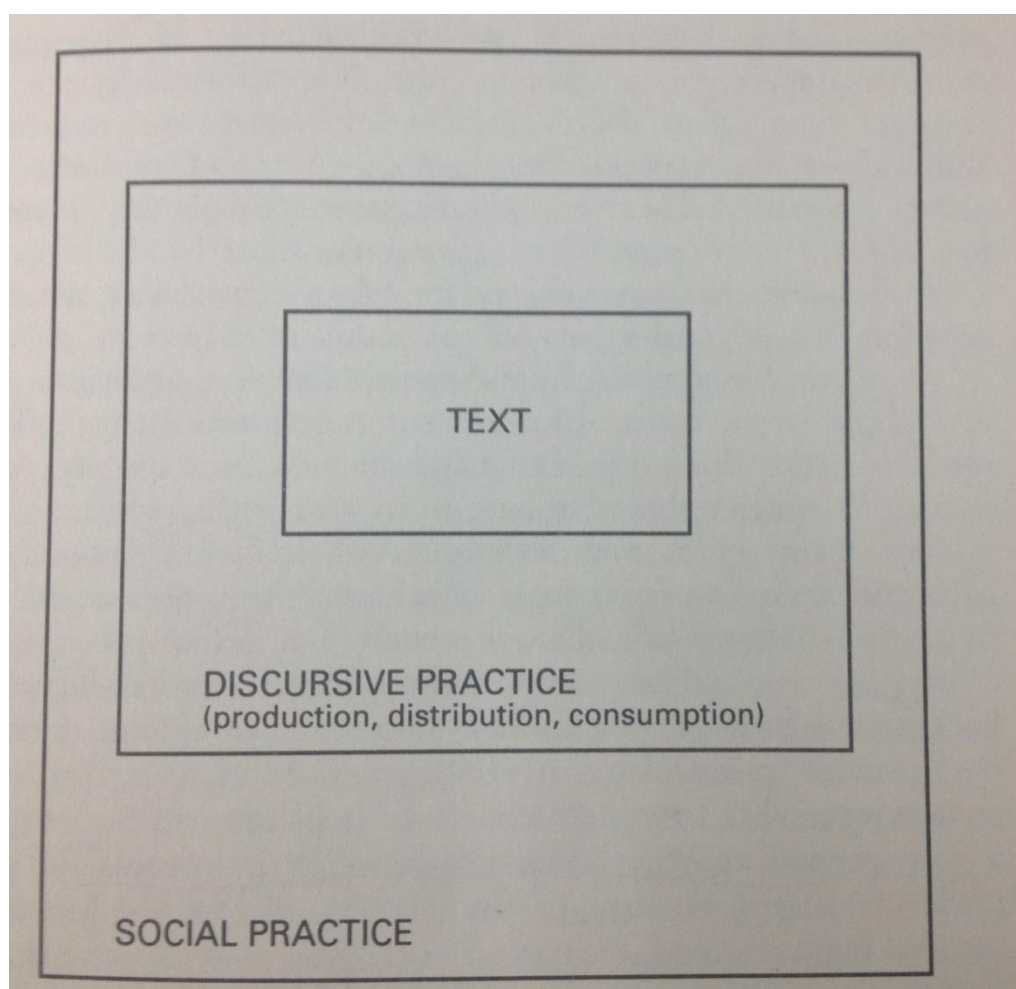


Figure 3.1. Fairclough's model of text in relation to discursive and social practice. (1992:73)

Through analysis of discourse as text, emphasis is placed upon language under the main headings of *interactional control* (who controls the conversation/interaction), *cohesion* (how a text hangs together and relates its different parts), *politeness* (attitude to listener/recipient), *ethos* (creation of the textual or interactional 'self'), *grammar*, *transitivity*, *theme* (of clauses and of the whole), *modality* (degrees of certainty), *word meaning*, *wording* and *metaphor*. (1992: 234-239) Of these, politeness and interactional control are of less obvious use due to their being intended for interactional speech analysis (although they do play a role in more abstract forms), whilst grammar can be broken down into the aforementioned relevant areas of transitivity, theme and modality. As noted, ethos is particularly important in that it is constituted by the other elements and plays a role in the creation of the textual identities which emerge as part of social practice. As argued in the previous chapter and as is subsequently shown, it can also function as a framing tool

when assembling and coding texts together, and particular emphasis is placed on Fairclough's concept of a textual identity as a means of understanding the dominant values of the debates at the heart of this study.

The TODA model then gives a relatively fluid progression to discursive practice through the introduction of audience and medium (1992: 232-234), including the idea that different audiences to the same texts might carry out wildly different readings with a focus on how a knowledge of audience can influence the coherence of a text and what force it carries (as outlined by Austin in the concept of the illocutionary act). This is also related to the previously discussed efficacy of texts and arguments and the goods to be achieved in specific situations. In terms of social practice, Fairclough characterises discourses as engaged in an on-going struggle for hegemony in the discussion of a subject through ideologies. These are manifest in the identities created in discourse practice in a quest for temporary hegemony (1992: 93-95). The temporary nature of this hegemony is also related to the temporary use of *doxa* as discussed in the final chapter. This parallels MacIntyre's own concept of traditions as ongoing 'conversations', and the creation of overlapping characters and virtues in both interaction and opposition to one another. The use of Fairclough's method also helps to resolve one of the shortcomings of MacIntyre, as identified by Gare, namely the execution of power and how agents actually go about performing the acts which come to define the characteristics by which they are judged. The potential for transfer between and annexation of different traditions is thus described by Hannan as being able to 'expand or migrate beyond its original setting into new cultural and linguistic territory. In such an event, members of a tradition can survey the new territory and identify those parts of the tradition that can and cannot be translated into the new language. What can be translated are concepts with parallels in the new language. What cannot be translated will require the invention of a new vocabulary and idiom.' (Hannan:10)

3.5 Establishing moral hegemonies

The final element of Fairclough's model, that of hegemonic knowledge conflict, is thus the most relevant in terms of applications of knowledge creation to political and moral identities in environmental debate, and to the specific studies which constitute the research material of this thesis. In unifying the large nebulous discursive field of textual

and social identities and the small, detailed uniform analysis of individual texts, Fairclough facilitates investigation of material and context within the same framework. It is applicable to any field and to any form of interaction, which makes it ideal for looking at issues in context and relation to other social discourses through interdiscursivity. The aforementioned textual and discursive stages are then extrapolated to cover the 'end products' of systems of knowledge and belief, social relations and social identities (1992:38), a process whereby processes of formation and argumentation become concrete realities.

Instances of this hegemonic process and its relationship to textual selves and their values are clarified in Fairclough's analysis of the New Labour project, *New Labour, New Language?* (2000). Here Fairclough identifies a central discourse, Tony Blair's 'Third Way', and breaks it down into a series of constitutive concepts via quantitative analysis with reference to elements such as cohesion between concepts and renaming. He then sets this within the argument that 'third way' rhetoric was a conscious attack on the discursive moral hegemony and identity of the previously dominant Thatcherist agenda, seeking to annex Conservative traditions and neoliberal conceptual frames. Fairclough illustrates how New Labour appropriated (and was arguably appropriated by) the Thatcherist virtues of individualism and 'honest work' whilst introducing powerful new elements to British political discourse with its appeals to 'fairness' and 'justice' (2000:43). The study also illustrated how such rhetoric could 'draw attention to assumed incompatibilities while at the same time denying them' (*ibid.*: 45). By combining careful textual analysis with the larger context of ideological hegemony and media framing, Fairclough convincingly illustrates how people (politicians, the media and the public) transform language, but furthermore how language transforms reality. One of his prime examples is how the leftist concept and understanding of the values of 'internationalism' was rearticulated by the British government to entail globalisation and international military action and a just war. (*ibid.*: 142) Such an approach is also applied in his earlier work on the transformational rhetoric of the Thatcherist social and economic project (Fairclough, 1989: 140). Fundamental to Fairclough's analysis is the idea that the New Labour project, like Thatcherism, was an intensely moral undertaking that sought to identify and rearticulate a value-based approach to public discourse. This relationship between the character of texts, of their authors and of their impact mirrors MacIntyre's

abandonment of ‘fact-value distinctions’ which can separate rational justification and values-based argument (Macintyre 1981:82). This annexation of traditions also reflects Hannan’s reading of Macintyre and the task of author and agent in rearticulation and transforming such traditions (Hannan:10)

A recovery of the self in both textual form and in the role of authors and agents as desired by Ruth Amossy and the approaches to textual selves created through critical discourse analysis and the moral identities outlined by MacIntyre provides, I argue, for a robust approach to mapping environmental morality in the public sphere. By situating discussions of agents firmly within examples of practice and by using self-identity as a primary tool of investigation, it is thus possible to approach larger bodies of material and relate it to specific instances of interactional identity building. Furthermore, and as is discussed in the concluding chapter, TODA’s methodology crucially allows for the reconstruction as well as the deconstruction of texts. This potentially allows for critical discourse study to then use its findings to build and craft new traditions and new identities, as argued by Van Dijk. The synthesis of Fairclough and MacIntyre’s models thus provides a suitable approach for a more generalist view of environmental power struggles and the study of interactions between environmentalist and non-environmentalist narratives in the public sphere. The quantitative application of this approach is further explained in the following chapter.

4. Producing a textual corpus and database

4.1 Constructing a corpus

This chapter briefly outlines how the approaches to textual analysis and mapping values discussed in the previous two chapters can be applied to two textual examples, and how the methodology then results in the database which forms the basis of the quantitative aspect of this study. It is intended to clearly link the analysis of individual texts to the quantitative conclusions made in each case study, and to act as a general guide to method in the use of TODA to map the characteristics of texts, illustrating the primacy of ethos as a means of textual classification. This method is intended to be transferable, and this chapter should also function as a more general illustration of how to work with large amounts of textual material when carrying out more close qualitative readings.

The database utilised in all three of the project's case studies draws on 972 different texts from the print newspapers *Svenska Dagbladet*, *Dagens Nyheter*, *Aftonbladet* and *Expressen*. The four outlets have been chosen because they cover both tabloid and broadsheet journalism across the political spectrum and have all existed and maintained relatively high circulation figures over the forty-year timespan of this study (Svenska Mediehus 2013). The full list of retrieved articles is contained in Appendix II, along with an explanation of the data collected.

Dagens Nyheter is a liberal newspaper based in Stockholm, though with regional editions. Generally broadsheet in format, it has historically been the best-selling title in the country.

Svenska Dagbladet is a generally more conservative broadsheet which consistently backs the liberal-conservative parliamentary bloc [sv. *borgerlig*].

Expressen is a high-circulation tabloid with regional sub-papers that has traditionally opposed left-wing parties in Swedish politics whilst maintaining an independent liberal profile.

Aftonbladet is a left-wing tabloid with a broadly social-democratic orientation which for many years was owned and run by the Swedish council of Trade Unions. It generally supports the Social Democratic Party and competes with *Expressen* as Sweden's most read tabloid.

The use of such a large database is intended to achieve two specific ends. In the first instance it functions as a cataloguing system for mentions of environmental conflicts in the popular media, from which particularly salient examples can be drawn and analysed. Its second, and more important function, is the creation of a large scale textual labelling system which reflects both the commonality and diversity of discussion. This also facilitates the drawing of more general conclusions beyond the specific studies of composition carried out in each case study. Ultimately, it also helps to illustrate the continuities and discontinuities over the period of study, some of which are discussed in the concluding chapter.

Texts copied and retrieved from the newspapers can be split into five main genres; leaders, debate articles, news reports, news features and political advertising. The latter section is particularly relevant in the discussion of nuclear power and the identities of campaign messaging, whilst the division between news reports and news features is important due to the processes of their composition – news features are generally pro-active rather than re-active. All four newspapers also have an active culture of debate, publishing daily opinion articles by various actors. The criteria by which these labels are applied are as follows:

Leaders – Editorials published using the corporate voice of the newspaper, or on occasion signed by a senior member of the newspaper's editorial staff.

Debate articles – Opinion articles, often appearing at the front end of publications but also present in other sections as comments to news stories. They involve the presentation of various voices external to the corporate voice of the publication such as politicians, scientific experts, academics and notable figures from cultural and civil society.

News articles – Texts which specifically report events or newly-revealed information, in which the primary function of the article is ostensibly reactive.

News features – Longer texts in which a journalist or writer has attempted to expand upon an area of supposed interest by selecting a topic, often with a significant narrative angle.

Adverts – Articles placed in news outlets by third parties for payment which specifically aim to inform or persuade the readership of a specific line of action or behaviour.

As is further discussed in the conclusions contained in chapter eight, this constitutes a sizeable survey of media discourse on environmental conflict, with all texts containing any mention of the case studies selected instead of those that deal specifically with environmental topics. These have then been catalogued and labelled in accordance with the method outlined above to identify the dominant textual ethos frames. The result is a quantitatively searchable corpus of data which comprehensively labels texts and makes them easily available and retrievable. Listing the publication in which they appeared, the date, the page number, article type and the ethos present, it provides a cross section of the media around the respective environmental conflicts which can also be added to or used for comparative study. It also facilitates the identification of texts particularly suited to closer qualitative analysis due to either their typicality or author, as carried out in the in depth textual analyses in each case study. An explanation of how data is input to the database is given in the discussion of method outlined in the following section.

4.2 Textual analysis: An example

I now show how the methods outlined in the previous chapter are applicable to two texts in context, and the process by which textual ethos frames can be established and catalogued. In this case the material studied is taken from discursive articles on the mooted construction or cancellation of the Förbifart Stockholm project, an earlier stage of which also provides the source material for the case study in chapter seven. Both texts are reproduced in full in Appendix I for reference.

As is more extensively discussed in the introduction to chapter seven, Förbifart Stockholm is a major infrastructure project designed to increase motorway capacity in the greater Stockholm region by providing a north-south trunk route under Lake Mälaren to the west of Stockholm city centre. A source of great debate, the project was considered a priority by the centre-right governing Moderate party, whilst its main opponents had been the Swedish Green Party *Miljöpartiet De Gröna* (MP)

Published on consecutive days in 2011 in the conservative *Svenska Dagbladet* newspaper, the two articles make opposing arguments for the cancellation or continuation of the project. The first, ‘The Bypass will be an electoral question in 2014’ [*Förbifart Stockholm blir en valfråga 2014*] is authored by three leading members of the Green party. The second text, ‘Time to move beyond the bypass’ [*Dags att blicka bortom Förbifarten*], is authored by the Moderate head of Stockholm’s municipal authority, the politician Sten Nordin. It argues that the public debate should move beyond the road project. They are analysed here in terms of their common characteristics as much as their differences.

As with all of the other texts analysed as part of this project, they are part of a distinct corpus. In the case of these two illustrative examples there is an extremely narrow corpus of two texts from the same newspaper written consecutively, seriously inhibiting the potential to draw strong conclusions from their analysis. It is for this reason that this project utilises a whole range of texts over many years as it seeks to cover both a longer period of time and a more diverse range of media. For the purposes of illustrating an application of TODA, however, they function particularly well, and that is why they are used here.

Despite forming a tiny corpus, two texts are prime examples of *interdiscursivity*, being simultaneously part of a media discourse on the issue of roadbuilding and, by way of their respective authors being politicians, explicitly political discussion. This is related to the type of social practice which the texts constitute, namely contributions to public debate as part of a deliberative democratic culture where issues are debated and defended within the public sphere (i.e. the media). This puts these texts at odds with, for example, an internal policy document issued to Moderates or Greens respectively and intended for internal consumption.

Interactional control

The terms of the particular rhetorical acts studied here are dictated via their publication in the print media and on news websites. Debate articles of this type are placed in news outlets via requests from different actors, be they political parties or noteworthy individual voices. Sweden also has an active pluralist culture of giving space to different political and social voices in the public media relative to the Anglo-American sphere, with newspapers regularly featuring opinion pieces from representatives of the diverse political system, the academic and scientific communities and various campaign groups concentrating on individual issues. This is something present in both the public and private media. Despite this pluralism, however, the opportunity to convey a succinct argument belongs only to the authors or the texts and they are in themselves moderated. The recipient has no opportunity to respond immediately, being limited to either sending a letter to the newspaper, commenting via the website (itself moderated) or replying to a third party. Because the texts are published in a relatively prestigious newspaper, the only people capable of answering the arguments on the same level are other political groups with access to such outlets (as is the case with the two articles studied here). As a consequence, the public becomes a passive third participant in the debate despite being the audience in communicative terms. This has implications for the level of agency which can be attributed to readers, although the illusion of empowerment is an ever-present feature of both texts.

Politeness Strategies

Both texts refrain from lecturing their audience directly. Constant mentions are made of the ability of readers to make an informed choice and, rather than ordering them, both articles merely claim to be laying bare the ‘facts’ behind the debate. As is subsequently shown in the discussion of transitivity, this is partly achieved through the agency granted to readers via the ethos of democracy which permeates the two texts, whereby the assertion of democratic agency functions as a form of politeness.

Politeness strategies are of importance in rhetorical terms in that they can reduce the incidence of resistant readings, assist authors in controlling interactions and are intimately linked to whether or not the author is perceived as embodying values of fairness, or of employing a register appropriate to context.

Cohesion

To understand the arguments involved in the text it is important to analyse *cohesion*, whereby statements are linked and juxtaposed to emphasise elements of association, causality and rationality (similar to a classical idea of *logos*, a cohesive argument is much more likely to be interpreted as rational and consequently the author will appear to be rational and objective). The article by the Green politicians for example begins with a simple statement, followed by an assertion that construction of the project is a bad idea:

The Förbifart Stockholm motorway project is heavily delayed, even before the first sod has been cut. Court appeals, a budget that has exploded and legal assessments show it clearly enough – the most expensive motorway of all time is not just a bad idea, it is also legally, environmentally and economically challenging to build.

The statement that the project is heavily behind schedule and has not even begun is a relatively uncontested statement, positioned next to the more nuanced idea that the project itself is a bad idea. This *collocational relationship* invites an audience to infer a connection between the negative aspects of the two. This same opening paragraph then goes on to assert that:

In other words, it cannot be ruled out that Förbifart Stockholm will be an election issue even in 2014.

Within this short opening paragraph a statement is made, an opinion given and a conclusion drawn in which the ongoing delays to the project are given a collocational relationship with the project's overall worth. The Green article also makes generous use of statistics, in particular the recurring use of the number thirty in different contexts. A particularly noteworthy passage is the following:

Förbifart Stockholm is going to cost at least 30 billion, which is equivalent to 30 years of income from the [Stockholm] congestion charge. 30 billion and 30 years being ripped away from absolutely critical investments in new tram routes, commuter trains, busses and an expanded subway.

Once again the article equates the costs of the project with drawbacks for public transport, actively encouraging a connection to be made between the costs of the project and its timescale in negative terms. This kind of cohesion follows the Greens general argument that they are long-term thinking and their attempts to transform the project into a debate which is on-going rather than finished.

Transitivity

The Green argument does not claim that the Greens are opponents of the project *per se*, instead transferring responsibility for opposition to the general public. The Greens are agents of opposition but not instigators. Only at the climax of the text are the Greens given explicit responsibility in the debate with the assertion that ‘A majority of Stockholmers already choose public transport over the motorway. We will spend the time up to 2014 trying to convince the rest of them’. This *transitivity* has the effect of framing the motorway question as a democratic issue driven by wider social interests and not as a campaign point of a political party whose *raison d’être* is the stopping of such projects. ‘Stockholm’ is used as a synonym for the people of Stockholm in phrases such as ‘The by-pass will increase Stockholm’s greenhouse emissions.’ and ‘Stockholm will then also avoid appearing regressive.’. The Green authors transform Stockholm into an agent, and by extension the inhabitants of Stockholm who will be reading the newspaper in which the article is published. This is part of a wider pattern of justifying how the project is in line with the core values of democracy.

Theme

The theme of each individual clause creates the point of departure for its content, and collectively can be said to constitute the main theme or themes of the entire text. By looking at the initial clauses the following themes can be ascertained. This differs from the ‘rheme’, in which the initial theme is expanded upon, explained and rationalised.

In the Green text for example there are a number of different themes, but also a certain thematic continuity, with several of the paragraphs taking as their theme the democratic aspects of the debate. Beginning through the characterisation of the project as deeply troubled, the Green text complements this with an expert opinion, an explanation of how the project will not achieve what it aims to, three consecutive sections themed around democracy, the issue of public spending, collectivist thinking, and finally a return to democracy as focus. It’s concluding theme is the statement that ‘The bypass is a fork in the road [*väggval*]’, a general message evident throughout the text.

The Moderate text on the other hand is less consistent thematically but still builds upon the concepts of democracy and choice. It begins by identifying the project as a

metaphorical motor for growth, then as a vision for the future, public investment and democratic will. It subsequently focuses on the necessity of car travel, improvements to the environment as a result, democratic choice, temporal associations of past and future, and finally democracy, concluding “The question of the Förbifart Stockholm project was clearly on the agenda in the 2010 elections in Stockholm’ as a means of legitimising the project through a previous election victory (illustrated in the wider strategy of associating electoral politics with the project, *cf.* Ch. 7)

Word meaning

Word meaning is also of critical importance, and it is worth noting the way in which words are rearticulated in order to change and nuance their meaning, including the use of ‘stock’ words and the relative values applied to individual words. A particularly interesting example of this is the value judgements inherent in the term ‘motorway.’

The Greens make persistent use of the word ‘motorway’ to describe the project, including citing the ‘Project manager for the motorway’. Use of the more positively loaded ‘Bypass’ [förbifart] is kept to a bare minimum, whereas in the Moderate article it is the latter term which is used to refer to the project. To this end both parties have invented different names for the same object of discussion and the Greens exploit the now slightly antiquated connotations of the motorway (These connotations are covered in Camilla Hermansson's survey of media imagery in Swedish environmental debate. (Hermansson 2002:269)

There is also a difference in the articles between ‘Stockholm’ and ‘Stockholmers’/‘The Stockholmers’ [*Stockholmarna*]. The Moderates discuss Stockholm’s population in the definite plural, giving a nuanced variation to the Greens’ use of Stockholm to denote the collective group. In both however Stockholm takes on a role as a signifier of a moral majority under the assumption that the majority will be right in their opinion, exhibiting a keen awareness of audience. In the same way ‘everyone’ [*alla*] is transformed in different ways. Whilst the Greens assert that ‘everyone wins by having an effective and expanded public transport system’, the Moderate article aims to create a Stockholm where ‘everybody can grow through their own efforts.’ (also a notable example of collocation).

Metaphor

Both also make considerable use of metaphor in the sense that Normal Fairclough describes it (1992: 194) (2003: 145), that is to say as figurative speech and metaphorical language. As Fairclough points out, many metaphors are so ingrained that they are not recognised as such. The Moderates make extensive use of language to do with growth and infrastructure as an agent of growth, for example:

The three Greens Romson, Blombäck and Hagberg (Brännpunkt 23/3) show a lack of understanding when it comes to Stockholm's position as a motor for growth by making the building or otherwise of Förbifart Stockholm into an important election issue in 2014.

The effect of this metaphor is that the whole country takes on the figurative shape of a machine, with Stockholm at its centre 'driving' it. The acceptance of this metaphor is dependent on the acceptance of the Moderate's neo-liberal economic philosophy (open to what Fairclough calls a resistant reading where the narrative at large is outright rejected). The Green's on the other hand make use of an extended 'race' metaphor, portraying Stockholm as being in competition with other cities around the world which 'sprint past us'. This difference establishes two nuanced conceptions of future change, one of which has Stockholm in the driving seat and the other of which sees Stockholm as conforming to the general expectations and demands of the future.

Similarly, there is an attempt to create an extended democratic metaphor through the connection of choice with democracy (also linking back to the article's main assertion that the project is a democratic issue):

Given a choice between public transport and Förbifart Stockholm, a majority of Stockholmers choose public transport. This is entirely logical when you remember that more people travel on public transport than take the car in the rush hour.

Here, the fact that the majority of people travel via public transport is used to suggest that this 'choice' is related to the choice of democracy. The association of the related terms stresses their commonality, though in other contexts they can have differing meanings. This is further continued in the final paragraph with the assertion that 'The bypass is a fork in the road [*vägväl*]', stressing both the meaning of the choice about construction of the road and the figurative meaning of choosing the right path.

Ethos

As explained, ethos is critical to the TODA model of discourse and to this thesis as a whole in that it describes the construction of textual identities and selves which subsequently play a role in the struggle for discursive hegemony, but also in the identification of the larger moral structures at play and the way in which politicians and activists choose to construct themselves in terms of moral character. In the text outlined here the authors build a textual ethos as forward-looking democrats, as typified by the following section of text:

The parties and interest groups raving about mass motoring tend to claim that Stockholmers certainly do want the Bypass They have since the 1950s, when the idea of the Bypass was born (which is to say, at a time when motorways were seen as being modern), ploughed hundreds of millions into the project, 150 consultants and information campaigns and opinion polls that year after year have claimed the motorway to be absolutely necessary.

Never have they raised the point that 30 billion for a new motorway means 30 billion taken away from public transport. That the motorway will generate so much new car traffic that it will be congested after just ten years. That only two per cent of the traffic is long distance through traffic, which is to say the type of traffic they say the motorway is needed for ... When the champions of the motorway have bought their opinion polls they have simultaneously simply failed to inform Stockholmers of these facts.

The parties and interest organisations referred to provide a counterpoint to the Green position, whilst being given an agency in the creation of public support rather than reflecting it, and a role in preventing a series of 'facts' from being publicised to do with the increase in emissions, percentage of public transport used in the project and the dynamics of road growth. At no point however in the entire text are the Green's political opponents named; the Greens leave those forces to the audience's imagination and assume a role as 'concerned citizens'. It is worth noting that public transport as a concept is imbued with a wider moral significance of collectivism in opposition to individualism and the interests of a minority to the detriment of the majority. The development of the textual ethos is a product of its construction and content, not a specific element of its composition.

The two texts thus develop specific 'selves' which nonetheless rearticulate many of the same things, as opposed to being polar opposites. This positioning of the Green viewpoint fits into a wider rhetorical strategy. During the previous year's parliamentary

elections the Greens had campaigned using the slogan Modernise Sweden! [modernisera Sverige!] (Miljöpartiet 2010) and the text studied here is simply one strand in a wider attempt to integrate the party into mainstream political discourse. This is also further discussed in chapters seven and eight in relation to the cumulative frames of the project.

The Moderate text on the other hand uses the same positive connotations of the future to present the Greens' conservationist (in outcome if not presentation) argument as regressive:

In the Moderate's vision for Stockholm and the Stockholm region cycling, car travel and public transport on rail, water and road all play an important role in the transportation challenge presented by a growing and economically viable city region. A growing Stockholm requires modern infrastructure. The Green vision for infrastructure is not just narrow minded, but seems to be based on moving backwards instead of developing Stockholm for the future.

By presenting 'their' vision of the future they associate their own programme with modernity and challenge the central strand of argument from the Greens, namely that their decision is a decision based on the future development and wellbeing of the city. The selves created are different versions of a progressive and modern future. It is through this struggle for ownership of a concept that it is possible to move to the third stage of Fairclough's model, language as social practice and how this relates to the establishment of moral frameworks of narrative identity in a social space. This is, as I have argued, essentially the same as the dramatisitic approach to moral character proposed by MacIntyre in terms of prudence and practice.

4.3 Textual ethos in social life

Using the textual frames constructed above, the next step is to consider what the creation of such selves is intended to achieve, and whether or not they are particularly successful in the aims. Both texts can be seen to conform to Fairclough's model of discursive hegemony, seeking to establish majority control of a debate, existing as part of a multi-dimensional discourse on the environment, politics and development. With the advent of Green politics in particular the borders between political and environmental discussion have to a large degree been transcended, mirroring Jason Hannan's description of traditions (in this case environmentalist) expanding into new spaces and territories.

Following Fairclough's suggestion that attention should be paid to how a text constructs and mirrors systems of knowledge and belief, both texts in this example exhibit a certain amount of ideological commonality, attempting to create selves which rearticulate certain core virtues but which nonetheless have wildly differing agendas. As such, both texts seek to take ownership of the above values and norms through their rearticulation. In order to be successful they have to show themselves to correspond to these value sets and from there to establish their own narratives on how these values might best be implemented with regard to the issue – to construct a certain interactional ethos. As this is a discursive encounter which the Greens have initiated, it follows that the Moderates must subscribe to this same ethos as a means of communicating the superiority of their views and legitimising their action. This is a process made all the more difficult by the fact that the Green text has already synthesised elements of the stock Moderate argument for the project into its own attack. Conspicuous by its absence however is any strong environmentalist ethos, or the *ecospeak* referred to by Myerson and Rydin (1996: 28), even when environmental topicality is evident.

4.4 Ethos as quantitative frame

For ethos to function as a framing tool it must, as mentioned, encapsulate the disparate elements of the text, including paratextual elements, and develop a set of relatively finite labels. The Green text here could be termed 'Forward looking, responsible, democratic', so the labels used in a quantitative comparison would be *Future vision*, *responsibility* and *democracy*. The use of multiple frames to describe the overall ethos of the text is necessary in order to avoid an overly reductionist typology, whereby the nuances and variations in textual identities are evident and are not pigeon-holed. Every text is indeed slightly different, and an open approach to the identification of frames recognises this. The Moderate-authored text referenced here constructs for example an ethos which can be described using the terms *Future vision*, *realism* and *necessity*.

The attribution of such qualities to a text means that it can then move from being a qualitatively assessed and isolated example of rhetorical action to a contextualised, situated and quantitatively comparable object. In the case of this study, the searchable database created allows each individual text to be stored and searchable by ethos frame, noting its date of publication, where it appeared, its position in the publication and the

format in which it appeared (in the case of the two texts here, debate articles.) The database also lists the debate to which the article belongs and contains a comment field for the qualitative marking of particularly noteworthy examples. This means for example that the Moderate and Green texts would be listed as in Table. 4.1. This same format is replicated in the entire textual corpus reproduced in Appendix II. Where articles from the database are used or referenced their catalogue number is given as a footnote for reference.

Cumulative frames can then be fed into word cloud generators to present a visual illustration of the prevalence and dominance of concepts, as well as being manipulated and presented comparatively. The attribution of three ethos frames to each source text in line with the study's methodology allows the compilation of a tagged word cloud, indicating the incidence of each of the prevailing ethe across text. As is shown in the discussion of frames within each case study, word clusters allow the co-presentation of different but interrelated concepts in tandem rather than using finite and arbitrary labels. Although similar to the 'environet' outlined by Myerson and Rydin (1996:8) such mapping does not limit itself to the vocabulary of environmentalists without any social context. This also facilitates comparison of the values and characteristics particular to different media outlets, and also across time. Given that this study looks at over nine hundred rhetorical artefacts from the public media, such a system is critical to the location of normative commonality between texts, as well as enabling the easy tracing of interdiscursivity and the annexation and overlap of one set of textual and social identities with another. It also has the benefit of providing an entirely new data set as a reference point for future research. As will be shown in each of the case studies themselves, such a system can accommodate frames as diverse as economism, informationalism, alarmism, community, social democracy, nationalism and a range of attributes and properties which dominate different aspects of the various debates.

The searchability of such a database also allows for the identification of common vocabulary. This is illustrated in the case studies in discussions of alternative or future visions and the semantic overlap between identities such as liberal and socialist democracy or risk and risk management, which are not mutually exclusive concepts.

4.5 Achieving goods

Because the authoring of such contributions to public discussion on the environment is to achieve a specific end (implicit in their being analysed as rhetorical objects), it is also necessary to ask what they are being used to do socially. (Fairclough 1992: 82) Each text in the corpus is published with an intention and seeks to one way or the other achieve outcomes or certain goods. This is, I argue, true even of news reporting which pursues consistent lines of argument and presentation and proceeds to act as an agent in itself. The news media also plays an important passive role in the reinforcement and perpetuation of existing social identities and public values.

On a more immediate level, the whole of the Green text takes the form of a challenge. It is a challenge not merely to the motorway project but to the competence and legitimacy of the ruling power. The Green attack is actually part of a wider front and a broader agenda, in which the halting of the motorway project is simply one element. Both texts are intent on asserting that their viewpoints represent the inevitable conclusion of a legitimate democratic process. Tied to this however are different ends reflected in the advocacy for courses of action. The Greens present their argument in economic terms, creating an ethos of responsible governance both economically and environmentally. The Moderate text however ties itself specifically to the dominant neo-liberal economic ethos which conflates economic and material growth with prosperity and necessity (and that democracy goes hand in hand with economic liberalism). The Green article also invokes an environmentalist ethos in addressing climate change and emissions, being a point of reference for the environmental movement if not for politics as they seek to take ownership of the above values and norms through their re-articulation. In order to be judged as successful they have to characterise themselves in ways which correspond to these value sets and from there establish their own narratives on how these values might best be implemented with regard to the issue.

By shifting the discussion from the environment to modernity and prosperity the Green authors appeal to (and thus create) a more general rather than environmentalist identity. The Greens attempt to 'disarm' the Moderates by utilising terms of reference which might otherwise be considered their rhetorical territory, namely fiscal responsibility and a certain liberal view of democracy, but rearticulated so as to allow alignment with a

green (and Green) perspective. The immediate force of such a text is not so much to stop the road project going ahead but to undermine the legitimacy of the governing party in making decisions, the net effect of which is that the issue is not about a good government making a bad decision but of an illegitimate government morally failing in their duty to citizens. In terms of how this impacts on the goods to be achieved in the interaction, whilst the stopping of the road project may still remain an internal good for the Green party itself, the delegitimisation of the government forms the action itself and it is the immediate 'good' to be achieved through the annexation of specific characteristics of democracy and financial sense.

4.6 Summary

Through the use of TODA to produce frames from close textual analyses it is possible to carry out thorough and methodical analyses of individual texts whilst relating them to the larger discursive arena, the moral characteristics and identities of both their authors and wider society, and the different political and social traditions within in. By addressing the construction of texts at a level beyond their content and through analysis of the processes of interaction with other textual voices it is possible to see how different rhetorical objects both enter and transform the discursive landscape, which is characterised as fluid rather than static. By allocating rhetorical artefacts a textual ethos, a system is thus established for the grouping of texts and the identification of core values, both through finite categorisation and via the superimposition of one textual ethos upon another. Through comparison with other texts from the same debate, and from other debates, it is thus possible to seek to locate both common and divergent characteristics and arguments from a variety of sources and authors. The following three case studies now use this method to map environmental conflicts.

ID	Newspaper	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Notes
1	SVD	2011-03-24	4	Debate article	Future vision, realism, necessity	Sten Nordin, local politics
2	SVD	2011-03-23	4	Debate article	Future vision, responsibility, democracy	All women, Greens

Table 4.1 Sample grid showing the cataloguing of texts according to an ethos frame model.

5. The Vindelälven hydro-electric project

5.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the media debate and creation of priorities surrounding the mooted construction and eventual cancellation of a large scale hydro-electric project along the Vindel River [*Vindelälven*] in Northern Sweden in the early 1970s. Its primary focus is on the role played by a green economism in the Vindel debate over conservation, including articulations of sustainable development and decentralisation.

The 20th century industrialisation of Sweden is inextricably linked to the growth of hydroelectric power stations. In a state with 192,000 km of water courses (SMHI 2010) the rivers and lakes which had previously defined the national landscape were increasingly transformed into a tool of national industry. Along with forestry and iron ore, water is one of Sweden's most profitable natural resources (Brandel & Vedung 2000). Its existence has been crucial to Sweden's technological development and along with the forestry and mineral industry also served to open up and develop the sparsely populated northern half of Sweden. As in highland Scotland, where huge state-sponsored hydroelectric projects such as those at Ben Cruachan and in Lochaber have provided power to both homes and heavy industry, hydroelectricity became a favoured tool of central government in the second half of the twentieth century. This took place through the state utility company Vattenfall, which today is one of Europe's largest energy companies. Together with iron mining and the forestry industry, this contributed towards the creation of what Staffan Hansson (2006) has labelled a technological megasystem in the north of Sweden, based around key and interdependent large scale industries. It also provided a new articulation of what Sverker Sörlin has identified as 'Norrland as the future' (1988:254), in which the north of Sweden became a testbed for postwar industrial modernisation.

This chapter begins by giving a basic historical outline of the Vindel River and the relative importance of the debate in the development of Swedish environmentalism and what the implications were in narrative terms for the decade to follow. Surveying the development of the issue up to the point of the project's cancellation, this case study uses six months of coverage in the four core newspapers defined in the previous

chapters. The articles are then grouped using the TODA-based ethos framing methodology outlined in chapters three and four, and this breakdown is used to identify the key features of the texts and of the debate at large. From this especially noteworthy and typical texts are used in four extended analyses tackling specifically ‘opinionated’ writing, rather than news reporting. This gives particularly insightful examples of the direction of the debate’s narrative, followed by a breakdown of each of the frames present within it, including some discussion of their overlaps and subsets such as different articulations of democracy and the forms taken by informationism in the production of (ostensibly) impartial and rational knowledges.

The chapter then concludes with a discussion of the cumulative ethos frames in the media portrayal of the Vindel as a whole drawn from the project database, and consideration of how the introduction of different argumentative and narrative strands played a role in the outcome of the Vindel conflict. In conclusion it argues that the creation of notions of regional community and new temporal frameworks as internal goods became a considerable weapon in fighting the efforts of central government to develop the Vindel through the creation of generalist rather than conservationist narratives. This did though nonetheless embody environmental virtues such as foresight, concepts of deep time and a democratic localism in forms which would impact on the larger collective narrative and potentially stimulate the evolution of the environmental movement as a whole through the practice of alternative energy movements, eco-tourism and sustainable development.

5.2 Historical background

Such was the rate of expansion in the hydroelectric industry that by the 1960s the number of watercourses which were not being harnessed for hydroelectric generation formed a significant minority (Swedish Ministry of Planning 1973). Almost inevitably this resulted in a confrontation between the government’s energy agenda and diverse protest groups who increasingly challenged the wisdom of unchecked development of Sweden’s hydroelectric potential. The attitude of the state-owned Vattenfall was uncompromising, having in 1951 asserted that there was not a single water course in Sweden which merited preservation in its original form (Brandel & Vedung 2001: 63). As a state-run enterprise Vattenfall explicitly and symbolically represented the will of the government, establishing a paradigm of conflict between conservationists and the

agenda of the state. By 1952 an umbrella organisation for opposition to hydroelectric schemes – The Cooperation Committee for Nature and Landscape Conservation from the Exploitation of Water Power. [*Samarbetsnämnden för natur- och landskapsvård i samband med vattenkraftens utnyttjande*] – had been formed which represented organisations as diverse as the Swedish Tourism Association STF, Young Farmers, the Swedish Alpine Club and the conservation group Swedish Society for Nature Conservation [*Svenska Naturskyddsföreningen*]. An increasingly active campaign led to an agreement being signed in October 1961 known as the Sarek Peace [*Freden i Sarek*], (Johansson 2008:54) which led to certain rivers being granted protection, one of which was the twin river systems of the Umeälv/Vindelälven watercourses (Brandel & Vedung:89). By the end of the 1960s hydroelectric development had decreased, in part also thanks to the establishment of the indigenous Sami rights movement and organised resistance to a centralised ‘industrial colonialism’ (Össbo 2014:37-46).

Nevertheless, the Swedish government via its state owned utilities subsequently pushed for further expansion of hydro-electric projects as a means of creating employment and in engineering extra industrial capacity, violating the previously agreed moratorium on such development. Following the Vindel conflict the river was eventually given protected status, which it still enjoys. As noted by Anshelm (1995:29), ‘It was an historic event. It was the first time that conservationist opinion has successfully headed off a development project drawn up by Vattenfall themselves.’ This makes the Vindel a prime case for study in that it marks a change in the ability of the state to drive through environmentally damaging projects and illustrates how the adoption of environmental narratives and values into oppositional political programmes could seriously change the efficacy of the environmental lobby. It also lays the ground for the conflict surrounding nuclear energy a decade later (*cf.* chapter 5) which, it is argued, constitutes a continuation of the same pursuit of temporal security as virtue present in the Vindel debate.

The Vindel, whilst technically a tributary of Umeälven with which it enters the Gulf of Bothnia at Umeå (*cf.* Fig. 4.1), is also one of Sweden’s largest rivers in its own right, running 453km (Länsstyrelsen i Västerbotten 1997) from near the Norwegian border to the Baltic sea. Today it is one of four so-called ‘national rivers’, and since 1993 has supposedly been protected from further development thanks to national legislation despite pressure for development (Moen 2006:309). The other protected rivers of

upland Sweden are the Torne, Kalix and Pite rivers. In the late 1960s, despite being one of the systems explicitly mentioned in the Sarek agreement, a new attempt was made by Vattenfall to transform the river into a linear hydro-electric scheme with dams at regular intervals. This would have led to the enlargement or creation of a series of feeder lakes with severe impacts on fishing, shoreline flora and general flow rates (Länsstyrelsen:2)

On April 1st 1970 the sitting Social Democratic government, headed by the talismanic Prime Minister Olof Palme, revealed that it would not be taking forward the long-held plans to dam the Vindel River as a means of meeting Swedish industry's insatiable appetite for energy. It was an issue which had split Palme's own party and given political capital to his opponents. Despite its size and place in history, the Vindel was neither the biggest, nor was it the last untamed river in Sweden. One of the most interesting aspects of the debate from the perspective of rhetoric and instrumental discourse is that the decision to 'save' the Vindel was taken not by a court or agency, as is often the case, but at the highest political level for fundamentally political reasons (Brandel & Vedung: 122). This is, I argue, a prime instance of the ability of the media to function as agent in such debates through its potential to act as arbiter and influence the political establishment. This can be compared to the cancellation or approval of projects within the legal system through the pursual of new legislation or interpretation of legal structures. It is thus a prime illustration of power manifesting itself external to the binding decisions of courts or technocrats where an environmental issue is transformed into a question of political expediency. It shows protesters challenging the orthodoxy of longstanding government policy with a high degree of success, and subsequently forcing a change in the settled political will of the establishment.

The hydroelectric debate also coincided with the decline of traditional methods of moving timber by river as the forestry industry modernised and old processes of labour-intensive industry were superseded (Törnlund 2006). Depopulation and rural unemployment were increasing whilst the Social Democratic Party itself was undergoing a period of renewal and changes in the nature of the labour movement as a whole. In the winter before the Vindel was saved a mining strike in state owned iron mines had presented another serious challenge, bringing questions of the Northern Swedish economy to the fore and causing friction between the government and trade union movement.

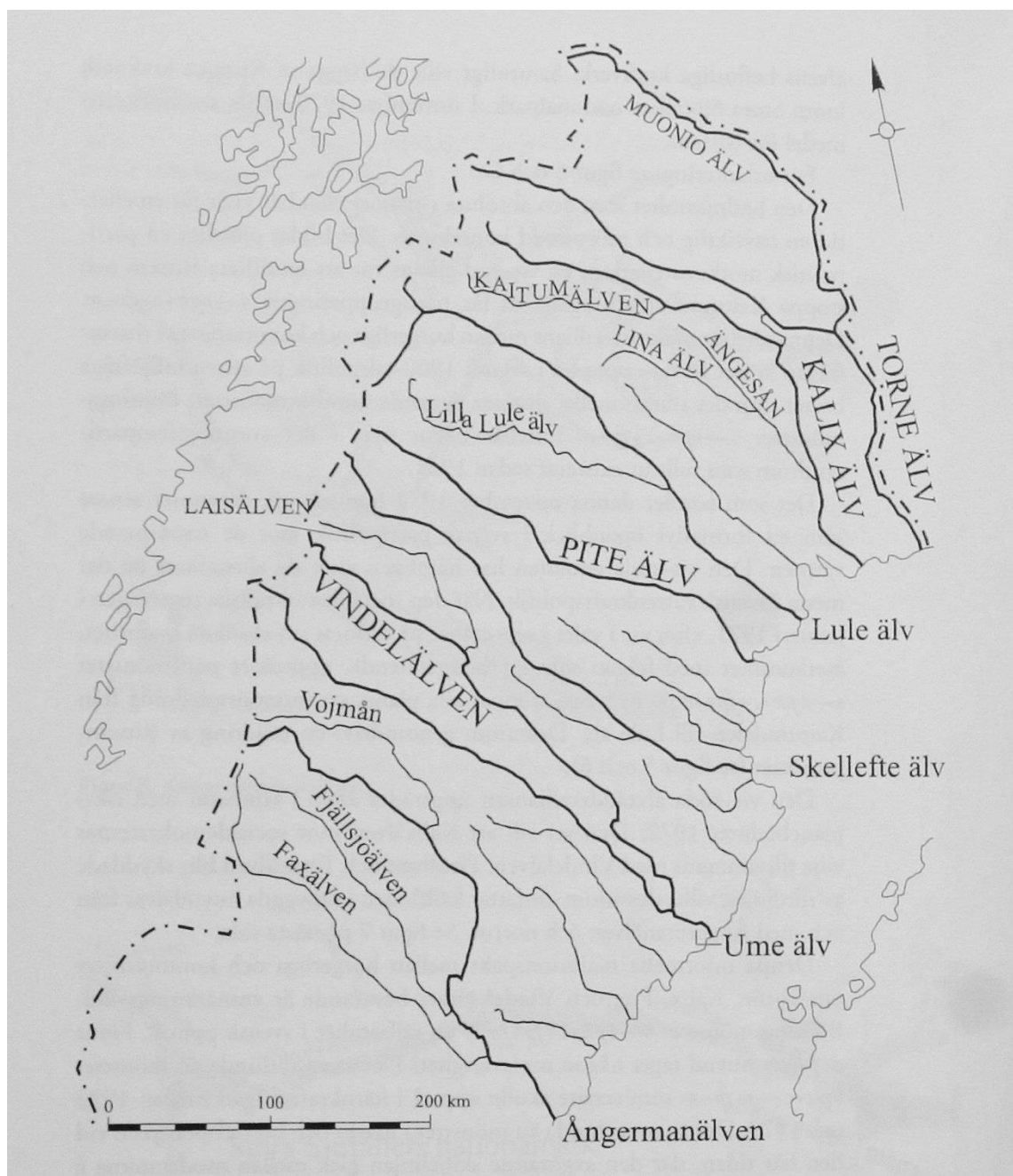


Fig. 5.1 Map of the four 'National Rivers' of Northern Sweden, along with their unprotected tributaries (Boden & Rolén 2000: 226)

A year before the decision to leave the Vindel intact, Olof Palme had written a polemical article in the national newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* in which he argued that the hydroelectric project was an essential component in tackling industrial and social decline, and that the concerns of the conservation lobby were being made by people for whom poverty was an alien concept (Nilsson 1970: 52). This conflict has been addressed relatively comprehensively by Jonas Anshelm in *Socialdemokraterna och miljöfrågan*, (Anshelm 1995); namely the need to create a unified Social Democratic environmentalism which in the eyes of former Prime Minister Tage Erlander combined 'incompatible values' in the drive to both build and continue the welfare state but protect the natural world (*ibid*:29). As I also argue was the case in the nuclear referendum, the Vindel conflict can be viewed as much as a question of competing political projects as an environmental campaign in its own right, and is a prime example of adopting non-environmental identities to achieve environmental goods.

5.3 The textual corpus

The relative scarcity of articles on the Vindel conflict in the national press can be attributed to it being a relatively peripheral debate, with only a limited number of reports and opinion pieces appearing in one of the four large nationals during the six month period studied. Of *Svenska Dagbladet*, *Dagens Nyheter*, *Expressen* and *Aftonbladet*, just 37 articles and editorials appeared. Although not featured within this study, there did appear a significantly larger number of articles on the merits and progress of the project in regional newspapers such as *Västerbottenskuriren* and *Västerbottens Folkblad*. Here however, the interest is in how the debate impacted at a more centralised, national level (in an era in which local media was unavailable outside of its target markets due to the absence of the internet) and the creation of the debate in the Swedish parliament and more democratically powerful areas of the country. The incidence of various identities within the corpus is discussed later in the chapter. First, however, four analyses are made of individual texts from the corpus which typify certain aspects of the media debate.

5.4 Analysis 1: New economism

The first analysis is taken from *Dagens Nyheter* and was published as a newspaper leader on the 21 November 1969⁸, four months before the Vindel was declared safe from

⁸ Appendix II, text 15.

development by the government. It is heavily in favour of preserving the river intact and is authored by the newspaper's editorial staff. Its central argument is that preserving the river would be of benefit to local employment, and carries the title 'Save the Vindel, create jobs!'

The interactional control of the editorial revolves around the fact that the article is nominally the voice of the newspaper, rather than of any specific individual. Such corporate authorship is very difficult to respond to, and such texts do not invite response. Through a less explicitly argumentative tone, they offer authoritative third-party views on the project, but do not claim to take the side of any particular group or individual. To this extent, they rely heavily on trust in the corporate author (in this case a respected newspaper).

Similarly, the tone of the article is implicitly polite. It is not confrontational, and does not in fact address the readers at all. A property of the print media is that it can be both forum and voice at once, with the corporate author constituting the medium itself. There is thus no individual voice to respond to, with the text inviting implicit agreement but not requiring it. It is possible that the text might be open to resistant readings, but the manner of its presentation means that it carries a tone of relative objectivity.

This is achieved through a process of careful cohesion. The text begins by offering analysis, or commentary, of the process of the debate. It recaps the story of the government's split and the conclusion that the decisive factor in the building or otherwise of hydroelectric plants is the degree of employment they generate. The first section is summarised by the statement that:

There is no non-partisan expert solution, no alternatives that do not contain advantages in certain respects and disadvantages in others, no informed choices to be made using straightforward measures, as the Vindel River problem is a typical political issue

By asserting that the Vindel debate is a political question, and not an environmental one, it recontextualises the issue in terms of political process and development, but remains relatively ambivalent about the rights and wrongs of the debate.

Analysis 5.1

Rädda Vindelälven, Skaffa Jobb

Den s k arbetsgruppen för dem outbyggda Norrlandsälvarna som tillsattes sedan regeringen i slutet av vårriksdagen upptäckt att man inte kunde räkna med en enig socialdemokratisk riksdagsgrupp för utbyggnad av Vindelälven, har ny presterat en fyllig utredning som – sedan alla kraftekonomiska, naturvårdsmässiga, forskningsmässiga etc aspekter och spänningar analyserats – skickar bollen tillbaka till politikerna med detta besked mellan raderna: Det avgörande är sysselsättningsfrågan: Kan ni inte klara den utan att bygga ut någon av älvarna, så ta Vindelälven därför att den åtminstone ger jobb en tid för 600 vattenfallare, som annars blir arbetslösa från 1972. Men kan ni klara sysselsättningen ändå, så spara för Guds skull och framtidens skull Vindelälven, liksom Kalix, Pite och Torne älvar!

Man kan frestas se utredningsresultatet som ett beställningsskrädderi – ty vem argumenterar mot snabb sysselsättning för överåriga Norrlandsjobbare? – vilket skulle passa som hand i handske sedan argumenten för att Vindelälven eller någon av de andra sista bevarade storälvarna måste skövlas för elförsöjningens skull har vederlags och naturvårdsaspekterna har vuxit sig besvärande starka. Men man kan också se utredningen som ett diplomatisk mästestycke som håller alla möjligheter öppna och ändå ser alla falanger i Vindelälvstriden något att glädja sig åt. Vattenfall har fått ”rätt” om lönsamheten. Naturvårdarna har fått rätt om det unika skyddsvärdet. Det är rätt att dryggt 800 män skulle få sysselsättning under ett decenium, om man får lita på vattenfalls senaste kalkyler.

Men det är också rätt att bara en mindre del (circa 250 årsjobb) av den sysselsättningen skulle komma lokalbefolkningen till del, att den vore av ganska snabbt övervägande värde och att man efteråt står i samma eller kanske värre situation – en viss respit har väll uppnåtts, men samtidigt har de långsiktiga materiella och icke-materiella lokalvärdena för turismen, fritidsfisket, laxodlingen (för att inte tala om forskningen, som dock är mer än ett riksintresse) raserats.

Nu har väl utredarna varken agerat lakejer eller diplomater, de har bara sökt hyfsa ekvationer i den mån de bygger på mätbara fenomen och gjort vederbörliga reservationer för de icke-mätbara, och så har de klarare konstaterat vad som ändå länge varit uppenbart: det finns ingen opartisk expertlösning, inga alternativ som inte rymmer fördelar ur vissa aspekter och nackdelar ur andra, inga avvägningar som kan göras med entydiga mått, Vindelälvskomplexet är en typisk politisk fråga.

I den frågan tycker vi, nu som tidigare, att statsmakterna skall säga nej till en utbyggnad som i kraftekonomi bara ger normal förräntning och ytterst obetydlig vinst. I kraftproduktion ett totaltillskott som bara motsvarar ett års normal ökning av elförbrukningen i landet och bara en bråkdels procent av vad vi ändå planerar att skaffa i atomkraft, och annat under de närmande årtiondena och i sysselsättning bara några hundra årsarbeten i högst tio år för Älvdalsbefolkningen – en tiondel av de bestående arbetstillfällen som ändå beräknas behövas där intill 1980 – och det med risk för försämrade sysselsättning på längre sikt. Detta väger inte särskilt tungt i förhållande till alla välkända skäl för att bevara Vindelälven.

Men självklart måste ett sånt principbeslut, som bör komma till våren för att undanröja den redan alltför utdragen osäkerheten, kombineras med extrainsatser från statsmakterna och andra för att dels ge en fullvärdig sysselsättning åt friställda vattenfallare på ”övergångsstat”, och dels ge bestående sysselsättning med ekonomisk spridningseffekt – älvutbyggnad ger ingetdera – åt de många många fler i dessa regioner som inte är det minsta hjälpta av att man satsar hundratals miljoner för tio små kraftstationer.

I själva verket har regeringen det politiskt sett mycket väl förspänt nu när huvuddelen av oppositionen och en stor del av de egna vill slå vakt om Vindelälven, för rejala statsgripanden i syfte att trygga en mycket bredare och mer bestående sysselsättning än kraftutbyggnaden skulle ge. Och kanske det rentav var meningen med denna mångåriga uppvisning i obeslutsamhet? Nu får vi se vad industridepartementet duger till. Hr Hedlund gav ju redan i somras ett tankvärt alternativt tips, att bygga ut ostkustbanan. Det kan bli lönsamt för Norrland på längre sikt och med vidare mått än SJ-budgetens. –

(*Dagens Nyheter* 21-11-1969:2)

Only in the text's middle section does it become explicitly opinionated with the statement:

In this question we are of the opinion, now as before, that the powers of the state should say no to an expansion which in terms of energy production would generate an average level of interest accumulation and a clearly insignificant profit

The text then returns to more analytical discussion of what the government should and might do in order to tackle the central problem of employment, pointing out that there existed viable alternatives for investment which might be more economically sound.

There is a collocational relationship between the employment question and the environmental question, with the environmental aspects being one of many 'well known reasons of preserving the Vindel river.' The uncertainty of one purely economic argument is thus offset by an equally weighted economic argument, combined with more generic conservationist and scientific factors. The effect is that the strongest argument for building the project is neutralised, lending the non economic arguments more weight, with the obvious conclusion that 'This does not really carry much weight in respect of all the well-known reasons to keep the Vindel river intact.'

Studying the text's transitivity reveals a fairly one sided system of agency. The main agent in the text is the government itself, manifested in the 'so called working group' and the report produced by this group. They have somewhat neutrally 'performed a substantial inquiry', and have 'behaved neither as lackeys nor as diplomats', but have actively 'sought' information. Likewise, even when the newspaper editorial itself is expressing an opinion, it asserts that 'the powers of the state ought to say no to a development that will give only average levels of interest and extremely insignificant profits.' The state and government thus remain the primary agents and the arbiters of power.

There is also a notable passivisation of local people. The project would 'at the very least provide jobs for a while to 600 hydro construction workers' and 'give satisfactory employment to redundant timber floaters'. In a similar vein, the long term material (and immaterial) assets of the area have been 'razed' [*raserats*]. The overall effect is to present the area as a whole as a passive recipient of central government intervention, for better or worse.

More than is the case in some other examples, the modality of the language used is important in creating an overall tone of uncertainty and doubt around the outcomes of government action. This is best illustrated in the leader's final paragraph:

Real efforts by the state which aim to secure a broader and more sustainable field of employment than what a hydro expansion would provide. Perhaps that was even the intention of this drawn-out example of indecisiveness? We'll have to wait and see what the Ministry of Industry is good for. Mr Hedlund suggested as long ago as last summer a notable glimpse of an alternative, improving the East Coast Railway. It could be profitable for Norrland in the long term with a bigger scope than what the SJ [state railway] budget will stretch to.

The lack of definite statements underlines the flexible nature of the debate, speculating on different outcomes and introducing the prospect of alternative courses of action on the same terms as the existing plans. Crucially, the whole article ends with a speculative suggestion as to an alternative development model.

This relates to the blanket theme for the article, which is one of process and pragmatism (in contrast to the idea of a dichomatic issue-based discussion). It begins by mentioning the report of the working group, what might be termed 'new information', it then moves to interpretation, saying that it is tempting to see the results of the working group as a stitch-up. The third paragraph draws out the counter-argument from the report, highlighting some of the project's shortcomings, and in the fourth defends the legitimacy of the new information. The fifth paragraph is 'informed opinion', beginning 'in this question we are of the opinion, and the final two can be termed 'political reality', both beginning with assertions of obviousness or truthfulness using the terms 'obviously' and 'in actual fact.'

The thematic dominance is reflected in the wording and word meaning. The dominant word in the entire piece is 'employment' [*sysselsättning*], used a total of eight times throughout the text. The creation of employment becomes an overarching preoccupation in the article, and it is an extremely neutral term to use. The government is referred to as 'the powers of the state' [*statsmakterna*], focusing more on the apparatus and capabilities of the state than the makeup of the elected government itself, further directing the discussion toward a de-politicised practical consideration. The use of institutions, and not of politicians, as agents lends the state a faceless quality.

There is also a use of 'we' which is open to interpretation, as 'we' is used to introduce a theme where it apparently means the corporate voice of the newspaper, but is closely followed by the statement 'a fraction of a percent of what we still plan to obtain from atomic energy'. This second 'we' cannot possibly be the corporate author, and must instead be interpreted as an attempt to create a collective voice around the opinion of the newspaper. 'We' thus becomes more than the editorial staff of *Dagens Nyheter*.

The metaphorical basis of the argument is less clear, but there is an underlying metaphorical framework of growth versus collapse. One of the tactics employed in arguing against the construction of the hydro project is that would actually compromise the potential of other industries to provide an 'economic distribution effect', in that it would raze them from existence. This is built on the irony that an intended investment would actually kill off the local economy in the long run. This is underlined in the final line of the article in the speculation that upgrading the local railway line 'could be profitable for Norrland in the long term'. Such choice might initially appear to be a Malthusian metaphor of finite resources as well, but the text does not set finite limits to growth, only preferable alternatives.

All of these factors lead the text to create an ethos of informed consideration, utilising the position of the newspaper as a corporate author to give an impression of objectivity, despite clearly expressing an opinion on the matter. This is combined with an almost fatalistic distrust in the ability of institutions of state to make the correct decisions. The cultivation of insecurity aids opposition to the scheme and develops an ethos of open mindedness, but also of analytical scepticism.

Summary

The piece exploits its position as an informed and disinterested party to draw judgements on the outcome of the process, managing to both clearly express an opinion but simultaneously present the viewpoint as independent of the yes or no arguments. Although the author is not anonymous, by having a corporate author the leader claims to present a more objective argument, so that the absence of a personality behind the text acts to strengthen its legitimacy.

This position relies on the adoption of a new information discourse, seeking to analyse, collect and present information as if it contributed something new to the debate,

particularly evident in the careful quotation of employment statistics to undermine the central arguments for building the hydroelectric project. It also claims to represent popular opinion, both by virtue of its appearing in a widely read newspaper (newspaper editorials rarely go against their general readership) and through its employment of collective nouns referencing the idea of a national political community. It also explicitly recognizes the idea that newspapers are opinion formers and function as moral agents for lay publics, the positions they take on matters having an influence on the decisions of those who hold power in democracies and on the public itself.

5.5 Analysis 2: Local community

The following article was published as a letter to the leader, in effect a debate article, by Bertil Ohman of the Vindelälvs Aktionsgrupp, a local organisation working to safeguard the future of the Vindel. Bearing the title 'Letter to the Leader: Local People for the Vindel River', it is notable as an example of a local voice appearing in national media, and is an accurate reflection of the argumentation of the local activism which eventually succeeded in saving the river from development. Appearing on the 5th December 1969⁹, four months before the Vindel won a reprieve, it is an example of voices external to the media entering it, though as illustrated in the discussion of interactional control still in highly mediated circumstances in which only certain oppositional voices are given a forum for discussion.

The interactional control on the text is somewhat more complex than the otherwise sealed world of newspaper editorials and opinion pieces. As a 'letter to the editor', the text exploits a medium which in theory is open to anybody, but which is still moderated by the newspaper itself. The extent to which the forum is genuinely accessible is debatable, but the illusion of access opens up the idea that a reader could in fact reply. The particular act is, however, finite, and the author has absolute control over the immediate situation. The politeness of the text manifests itself in its claims to represent a popular voice, keeping its criticism of the pro-hydro voices to a few named individuals. It does not attempt to directly criticise people supporting the project generally, focusing largely on a few select individuals. Neither does it assert that the government itself is wrong, instead focusing on the idea of misinformation over confrontation.

⁹ Appendix II, text 2

Analysis 5.2

Ortsbefolkning för Vindelälven

Riksdagsman Gösta Skoglund klagade i våras på Sveriges Radio och menade att man i radio och TV gav mera utrymme åt meningsmotståndarna än åt honom och hans fränder. Nu har han fått kompensation då hans åsiktsriktning helt fick dominera TV-Aktuellts kommentar till departementsgruppernas arbete. Tittarna bringades där uppfattningen att den berörde byggdens folk helt stödde honom. Det är inte bara fel utan en jättelögn! Skoglund har fått med sig fackföreningstopparna och spetsarna i arbetarkommunerna. Men folket i dessa organisationer har aldrig varit och en fått ge sin röst, utan de har kollektivt räknats med på samma sätt som kollektivanslutningarna till partiet.

Vindelådalens aktionsgrupp har i sin åttamansstyrelse med 4 aktiva kommunalmän. Av dessa är två socialdemokrater. Vi har också vid namninsamlingar och opinionsundersökningar funnit att väldigt många fackföreningsmän och även aktiva s-män stöder vår åsikt.

Fronten

Sanningen är att i Vindelälvsdalen står fronten mellan två jämna läger. I det ena finns förutom Skoglund och landshövdingen i Västerbotten de kommunalmän och andra personer som tror att vattenkraftsutbyggnad skulle rädda ådalen. Dessutom finns i den gruppen de som personligen tror sig ha något att vinna: markägare inom dämningssområden, åkeriägare och liknande.

I den andra gruppen finns förutom landshövdingen i Norrbotten (Adolfström ligger inom hans domäner) de kommunalmän som vill ha varaktigare satsningar, (medåldern är i regel lägre än i den förra gruppen kommunalmän) samt alla de personer som av olika anledningar också är motståndare till projektet.

Oförändrat

Fronten går inte mellan partier, utan snarare mellan kategorier och generationer. Skoglund kanske lyckades dupera några tittare utanför länet men de ansvariga politikerna vet nog att departementsgruppens redovisning inte har förändrat styrkeläget något. Tiden arbetar för oss som vill ha kvar en fri Vindelälv i en levande bygd. Vår ansvarskänsla är inte sämre än Skoglunds och hans gelikars. Vi vet att tio år är en för kort tid att bygga en sysselsättningsgrund på. De yngre vill ha ett varaktigare samhälle än det som en vattenrallareperiod kan skapa.

(Expressen 05-12-1969:2)

The text can be divided into three distinct cohesive sections. In the first section there is an attempt to reduce the project's proponents, led by the parliamentary deputy Gösta Skoglund, to a small and non-representative group. This is shown well in the direct reporting of Skoglund's pro-hydro argument, followed by the counter-assertion that he has in fact only gained support of the union movement's leaders. This is in itself an uncontroversial statement, but constructs the leadership as a separate group from the membership.

The viewers were given the impression that the population of the affected community supported him wholly. This is not just wrong but an outright lie. Skoglund has succeeded in bringing on board senior union officials and the heads of the Social Democratic councils.

The second section then sets these two defined groups against one another, under the banner of 'the truth is'. Particularly interesting is the connection of the makeup of the opposition group with age, bearing in mind that the debate is a discussion of the area's future. The opposition group is said to contain:

... those councillors who want to see a more sustainable investment (their average age is generally speaking lower than in the first group of councillors) as well as various people who for different reasons also oppose the project.

The final section is used to fully collocate the concepts of youthfulness, dynamism, the future and popular democracy. This is evident in the assertion that:

The battlefield runs not between parties, but between different categories and generations.

The result is that the text reconstructs the pre-conceived structures of advocacy and opposition in its own structure, shifting it from a political to an inter-generational division.

This move to promote a non-political paradigm also sees a passivation of none-political figures. Television viewers have been 'given the impression' that the project's supporters enjoyed the backing of the local community, and 'people in these organisations [parties and trade unions] have never been allowed to individually express their opinion [*rörs*].' Furthermore, they have been counted as a whole. This can be contrasted with the affirmative actions of the anti-hydro group who 'know that ten years is too short a timeframe to use it as an argument for employment creation. Younger

people want a more durable society than what the hydro-navvies can create.’ There is a familiar pattern whereby agency has been withdrawn from the public, raising questions of whether the arbiters of power are abusing their positions to give the impression of support.

Thematically speaking, the article varies, and as well as the three main cohesive sections already mentioned there are sub-sections within these themes. The initial theme is the figurehead ‘Parliamentarian [*Riksdagsman*] Gösta Skoglund’, followed by a rheme which cast aspersions on the truthfulness of what he says, asserting that he is outright lying. This then transits to ‘Vindelådalens aktionsgrupp’ in the second paragraph, and the rheme that they have in fact found the opposite to what Skoglund says to be true. The theme of the third section is ‘truth’, followed closely by ‘opposition and alternatives’ in the fourth (these themes are closely linked, so that the assertion of truth leads directly into motivation for the opposition), whilst the final theme is non-partisanship, expanded upon in the re-framing of the issue as an intergenerational rather than political conflict.

There is a clear attempt to change word meaning to give nuance to the collective language of social democracy, which is why a clear distinction between ‘senior union officials and the heads of the Social Democratic councils’ and ‘many union activists and even active Social Democrats’ is made in the article. It is an attempt to break down the implicit relationship between the leadership of the labour movement, who support the hydro-electric project, and the membership, who the article claims oppose it. Similarly, ‘Riksdagsman Gösta Skoglund’ is contrasted with ‘local councillors’ [*kommunalmän*], so that the nominally higher placed deputy in the national parliament is juxtaposed with more regionally located, and more local, politicians at the communal level.

Another notable construction is the claim that the campaigners want ‘a free Vindel River in a living region’. The use of ‘free’ and ‘living’ draw heavily on the idea that freedom and vitality are desirable values, helping to construct a living community which is free to do as it wishes. This stands in contrast to the external pressures of the centralised government wishing to block the river.

A dominant, and quite deliberate, metaphor in the campaign is of warfare. It is set up as a win or lose conflict between ‘two evenly matched camps, it is fought on a ‘front’, and

this front separates generations and types of people. This is evident even in the physical separation of the paragraphs in the middle section, where the two sides are clearly divided into two physical camps made of people, not just sides of the argument. There is also a mention of the respective positions of strength [*styrkeläge*] and the implicit lack of any opportunity for compromise.

Despite its apparent absolutism, the text develops a more complex number of different ethos frames. It is democratic, but not Social-Democratic, informed, and forward looking. It synthesises arguments of democracy in an extra-parliamentary sense and plays on the concept of elites making decisions to construct a cohesive local community in opposition to the corridors of power, as is further discussed with relation to the idea of community as value in the concluding chapter. By virtue of its presentation as a letter from local people, its politically non-aligned nature protects it from resistant readings. It can thus be labeled as democratic, forward looking, inclusive and informed.

Summary

The text establishes a distinction within the social democratic hegemony between the leadership and membership, so that the membership might be claimed by the anti-hydro campaigners and integrated into one of two clearly defined camps. By laying claim to the future through the invocation of young campaigners, it also seeks to take ownership of the question which underpins the entire debate, namely the economic future of the Vindel valley. The aim of the protest movement is thus characterised not as conservation but as economic security. This is reliant on the invocation of a Social-Democratic identity and the utilisation of the morality of social democracy. The creation of social democratic society, not of conservation, thus become internal goods within the argument.

5.6 Analysis 3: Opposing socialism

The following text¹⁰ appeared on January 30th 1970 in *Expressen* as a leader entitled ‘The Vindel River is a testing question for Palme’. *Expressen* tended to oppose the policies of Social Democratic governments at the time, and the text has been selected due to its typical nature in illustrating the adoption of environmentalism as an external good in the political arena in opposition to Social Democracy.

¹⁰ Appendix II, text 20

Analysis 5.3

Vindelälven en testfråga för Palme

Tre tunga röster har nu lagts emot en utbyggnad av Vindelälven. Två av dem, kammarkollegiet och kommerskollegiet, är övertygande utan att lägga naturvårdssynpunkterna på saken, utan samhällsekonomiska och sysselsättningspolitiska. Den tredje, naturvårdsverket, framhåller att det är principellt viktigt att tillfälliga sysselsättningsproblem inte får vara avgörande i en fråga som gäller den bästa användningen av landets naturtillgångar.

Hur självklart låter inte detta konstaterande? Men när andra än naturvårdsverket gång på gång upprepat denna självklarhet i debatten har det inte räckt. Delar av regeringen har ändå bundit sig hårt för tanken att man just skulle uppoffra en av landets finaste naturtillgångar för ett mycket tillfälligt sysselsättningsproblem.

Svikna Löften

Efter dessa tre tunga yttranden borde väl nu saken vara klar – att det inte blir någon utbyggnad. Var inte för säker. Kom ihåg att Tage Erlander i valrörelsen 1968 lovade att man skulle ta stor hänsyn till naturvårdsverkets yttranden när det kom.

Bara ett par dagar efter valet låg det ett yttrande från naturvårdsverket på bordet.

Sen dess har det runnit mycket vatten i Vindelälven och vi har fått en ny statsminister och inget beslut har fattats. Regeringen tog inte större hänsyn till naturvårdsverkets mening än att man tog upp frågan för ny prövning. Ska den nye statsministern ta lika lätt på naturvårdsverkets nya yttrande?

Prövosten

Ingen enskild naturfråga har upplevts som så viktig som Vindelälven under senare år. Den har blivit en skärningspunkt för hela naturvårds- och miljödebatten. Den har blivit prövosten för regeringen och riksdagens vilja att sätta mera eviga natur- och miljövärden framför kortsiktiga intressen. Det är märkvärdigt att regeringen haft så svårt att våga ge sitt svar i detta test. Nu ställs testfrågan till Olof Palme.

Vindelälven har också varit det nya naturvårdsverkets viktigaste och mest uppmärksammade problem hittills. Skulle regeringen gå emot verket i en så principiellt avgörande fråga så kan denna institution lika gärna lägga ner sin verksamhet. Att vi har anrättat ett naturvårdsverk kan ändå inte vara en tom gest, avsett att förvill påträngande miljödebattörer. Det måste ha kommit till som bevis för att hädanefters naturvårdssynpunkter och miljöargument ska respekteras och påverka planeringen.

Ska man kunna tro att regeringen den här gången ger ett besked före valet?

(*Expressen* 30-01-1970:2)

Like other leader articles in *Expressen*, the text employs a populist, everyday tone which assumes a collective ‘we’ with the readership. This does not invite opposition, and there is an assumption that reader and author are part of the same corporate entity with similar viewpoints and values. The text employs rhetorical questions to invite agreement, and although this potentially opens up resistant readings, for neutral readers it provides a means of drawing them into the debate. It also refrains from criticising the Social Democrats explicitly, instead focusing on the idea of ‘broken promises’ and the betrayal of trust by politicians, itself a populist angle.

The article can be divided into three distinct parts, the first of which asserts the technocratic case for not developing the Vindel with its invocation of ‘three weighty voices’ and contrasts the majority of expertise with the powerful minority of the sitting government.¹¹ This first section also asserts the primacy of the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency, established two years beforehand, in guiding the fate of the river and a ‘question regarding the best use of the nation’s natural resources’.

The second section focuses on the impact of the technocratic agreement on the Vindel issue and the government’s apparent intransigence. Presented under the heading ‘broken promises’ it reminds readers that ‘in the 1968 election campaign [former Prime Minister] Tage Erlander promised to pay great attention to the Environmental Protection Agency’s advice when it was established.’ This is then contrasted with then Prime Minister Olof Palme and the statement ‘since then a lot of water has run in the Vindel, and we have a new Prime Minister with no decision having been made.’ This collocates Palme with Erlander and holds the present government accountable for the actions of the previous one by reminding the audience that the EPA was specifically an invention of the Social Democrats and a component of their election manifesto.

The third section then takes the link made between the Social Democrats and the EPA to test their commitment under the heading ‘barometer’ [prövosten] and the assertion ‘[The Vindel] has become a barometer of parliament’s and the government’s will to place the longer term aspects of environmental and nature conservation before short term interest.’ This is followed by the comment ‘now this testing question is being

¹¹ The government enjoyed a rare full majority of seats in the Swedish Riksdag, but was itself split on the matter (Statistiska centralbyrån 1969:19)

posed to Olof Palme', collocating the two and bringing in the personal judgement of the Prime Minister. This collocation helps to transform the question from the technocratic arguments in the first section into a question of integrity for Palme. The final rhetorical question 'is it reasonable to expect the government to make a decision before the election this time?' thus draws parallels with the positive rhetoric of the popular Tage Erlander in the 1968 election and the realities of one of Palme's first real tests as leader.

This is mirrored in the attribution of agency to Palme and the government over other actors in the text. Tage Erlander has for example 'promised' the creation of the EPA and questions are raised around the government's will to exercise its power and 'put first' environmental concerns. This does however change towards the end of the text when Palme has the question posed to him, in this case nominally by the corporate author itself despite it being done in the passive tense. The net effect is that the various agencies of the government are not presented as possessing any real power, with only the government ministers and the Prime Minister having the executive ability to go ahead with or cancel the project. This helps to frame the situation as a moral question which ultimately comes down to the action of a single individual.

As mentioned, the wording makes selective use of a nebulous 'we' to denote the nation, but not the government. 'That we have established an Environmental Protection Agency can nonetheless not just be an empty gesture' attempts to lay claim to the EPA as a national, rather than state, undertaking. The use of 'voices/votes' [*röst*] in the initial lines 'three weighty voices' also invokes a broadly democratic frame of reference, with the effective majority of expertise contrasting with the singular intransigence of the Prime Minister. There also exists a more subtle mirroring of language in the phrases 'the new Prime Minister' and 'the new Environmental Protection Agency.' The implication from such reminders of their novelty is that both are untested having assumed their position at the same time.

The generally questioning (and critical) nature of the text means that it makes use of modal verbs to create uncertainty and hypothetical outcomes, notably in the question 'will the new Prime Minister take the EPA's new advice just as lightly?' As the text demands Palme cancel the project, it provides a number of opportunities for action, mirrored in an aspiration that 'hereafter conservation and environmental arguments

should be respected and influence planning.’ Ultimately, the text ends with a challenge to Olof Palme to fulfill these aspirations.

The newly-established EPA and its technocratic mandate becomes a thematic preoccupation of the text (sometimes using metonyms). It is for example one of the ‘three weighty voices’ featured in the first paragraph (where its technocratic characteristics are stressed). It then moves to become the part of the rheme for the second theme, obviousness, in the question ‘how obvious an observation does this [the findings of the EPA] seem?’ The third theme can be characterised as ‘broken promises’, also the subheading preceding it, and its rheme develops scepticism about the outcome of the government decision, as well as its integrity. The final thematic section this becomes testing, as the author wonders if the government is capable of meeting the challenge of following the EPA’s recommendations – this also mirrors the general thematic frame of the article’s headline ‘a testing question for Olof Palme’.

The metaphorical basis of the article is one of personal challenge, with a single individual, Palme, being challenged to follow his better judgement and the right path. This is of interest in the light of an ethical approach to the Vindel debate as it demands a moral agency of Palme himself in making the ‘right’ choice. It is possible to speculate on how this particular approach plays about the qualities Palme himself cultivated as a politician, including playing on strengths of personality and almost messianic moral integrity.

The result of the disparate elements in the text is an anti-governmentalism combined with an idea of democracy as internal good and guiding principle, exploiting a faith in the strength of information and the infallibility of technocratic decision making by expert agencies (in contrast to Analysis 4, where expertise is challenged and superseded by alternative information.) This establishes ignoring scientific advice as a moral failing and, through the legitimisation of the EPA, establishes scientific environmental knowledge as an absolute in the discussions. This anti-state but pro-science identity, combined within the more generic contemporary discourse of democracy, thus facilitates the central accusation that Palme and the Social Democrats are failing as good environmental guardians.

Summary

Like many other texts from the Vindel conflict, the criticism of the project goes hand in hand with a criticism of the government of the day, particularly its apparent hypocrisy, whilst associating itself with fundamental societal goods and challenging the government to conform to the same standards. Although the preservation of the river is the intended outcome, this viewpoint is informed not by a particular environmental ethics but by the knowledge produced by the Environmental Protection Agency. This says much of the cultural capital enjoyed by the Swedish EPA and the importance placed on it in terms of Sweden's supposedly groundbreaking and enlightened approach to conservation and the environment.

This play on the inherent friction between environment and the Social Democratic project at large, to resurface a decade later in the nuclear debate (Anshelm 1995:100), is used to expose a wider issue, namely the increasing awareness of the environment as concept and the manner in which such new awareness would be integrated into the larger Swedish social narrative. At its heart lies the question of whether the dominant political movement of the time was both structurally and morally capable of coming to terms with the new age of eco-modernity¹² threatening to emerge, and whether the needs of environmentalism could become instrumental values for the Social Democrats or a means of opposition, as was the case as the 1970s progressed.

5.7 Analysis 4: Truth and nuclear alternatives

This fourth text¹³ appeared as a debate article in *Expressen* on March 28 1970, shortly before the decision to save the Vindel was announced. Bearing the title 'Hydro boys sly on the Vindel', It has been chosen in part due to its support for nuclear energy as an alternative and the implications of such a decision to the debate discussed in chapter five. As I discuss, it is particularly important for its introduction of nuclear energy as a clean and non-destructive alternative to hydro-electricity.

¹² By eco-modernity, I mean a stage and reformation of modernity along ecological lines in terms of both practice and value. As such this represents a self-narrated and defined epoch in line with Ulrich Beck's theory of reflexive modernisation. Cf. Beck, U Bonns, W & Lau, C. (2003). The idea of eco-modernity is further discussed in the concluding chapter

¹³ Appendix II, text 8

Analysis 5.4

Vattenman myglar för Vindelälven

Civilekonom Karl Folkesson-Johansson

Ack om det vore vårflod, sa Vattenfall om Vindelälven. Svenska folket har de senaste veckorna översköjts av en propagandaflod som skjuter vattenkraftens betydelse i förgrunden. Den massiva elsparkskampen mot hushållen har ett uppenbart inslag av smygpropaganda för ytterligare skövling av Norrlandsälvarna. När Medelsvenssons egen bekvämlighet hotas av släckta lampor, soppa till middag och fränkopplad bil-kupévärmare, mjukas naturvårdsintresset upp.

Tendentiöst

Att informationskampanjen är tendentiös framgår redan av omslaget på broschyren "Råd till hushållen om tillfälligt elsparande." Den täcks av en pampig bild på ett skummande vattenfall (sannolikt hämtad från Vindelälven eller något förhistoriskt bildarkiv) när den istället borde visa den sterila stenöken stränderna till ett urtappat regleringsmaskin utgör. Ett strandplan där alla lösa jordarter eroderats och stubbar och förvridna rötter bildar små urskogar. Att hushållsbesparingarna "betyder mycket" är en vit lögn (med lätt travestering på vattenkraften som Sveriges vita kol). Hushållens kraftförbrukning är av storleksordningen 14 procent av den total kraftförbrukningen. Om den nuvarande besparingen är 5 procent genomsnittligt innebär detta en total kraftbesparing av 5 procent av 15 procent, eller 7 promille, vilket snarast borde betecknas "försumbar betydelse".

Marviken

De kostnader som nedlagts på propagandakampanjen mot hushållen är m h t dess ringa totala effekt företagsekonomiskt oförsvarbara. Pengarna skulle i stället ha satsats på elimport eller drift av gas-turbiner, vilka normalt har för höga driftskostnader för att kunna täcka belastningar.

Den plötsliga, stora publiciteten kring den stora omöjliga kärnkraftsprojektet Marviken skapar logiskt sett negativa skaper mot atomkraften. I stället för mot beslutet att Sverige skulle utveckla en egen linje på kärnreaktorsområdet. Eftersom all belastningsökning, i framtiden, måste täckas med värme- och atomkraft, är det väl ändå fel att klamra sig fast vid de gamla vattenrallarutinerna.

Vi måste väl istället helhjärtat gå utvecklingen till mötes, studera och anpassa oss efter giganternas (USA, Frankrike etc) utvecklingslinjer, samt på lång sikt planera in stora och rationella kraftverk i det svenska kraftförsörjningssystemet.

Låt oss inte acceptera att vit målas till svart. Vattenkraften är inte vår enda räddaren utan istället en relik från den tid då miljön var värdelös och alternativa kraftkällor ekonomiskt omöjliga. Den "allmänna opinionen" måste förstå att det kommer an på den att ta ställning i dessa fundamentala miljöfrågor. Vi måste genomskåda

”experternas” gamla trick att omärkligt glida över från fakta till värderingar. Till och med avvägningar mellan vatten-, värme- och atomkraft vilar på den skönsrättens nivå.

Propaganda

Inse att besluten om hur det samhälle ska byggas som våra barn en gång ska bebo helt vilar på värderingar! Värderingar som det är vår rättighet och plikt att göra s j ä l v a, utan att plötsliga utsättas för massiva propagandakampanjer från ett så oväntat håll och av en så fundamental art som i detta fall. En av dåligt förutseende orsakad situation, vilken direkt berör oss alla, får inte bli en del av smygpropagandan i valtider.

(Expressen 28-03-1970: 2)

Although it is intensely political, the text appears as a letter from a scientific source, meaning that its interactional control rests on the recognition of its factual nature. Letters to the leader are limited by the prominence or competence of the individual author and are not a public forum but a heavily moderated one. It exploits the technocratic informationalism present elsewhere in the debate. This is also evident in its politeness strategies, whereby the assumption of a position of truthfulness, common to many other articles in the corpus, positions the author as acting in the reader's best interests through the provision of accurate information. This is further enhanced through the assertion of commonality in phrases such as 'which affects us all' the immediate introduction of Vattenfall as a bureaucratic entity.

The cohesion of text splits it into three parts, the first of which alleges bias, the second of which discusses alternatives (in this case potential nuclear development) and the third accuses the government of a propaganda campaign for political reasons. The first section deals largely with the nature of the debate itself from the government side, criticising the promotional materials distributed to agitate for hydro development, saying:

On its cover is a nice picture of a gushing waterfall... when instead it should show the sterile stone desert that the banks of an emptied artificial headwater become.

By hiding the (literal) true nature of what the hydro project will do, it is asserted that the government is being disingenuous, continued in the accusation that household power consumption rationing is 'a white lie.' This undermining of the factual basis of the project underpins the second section, which links the expense of the campaign itself to more economic discourses of investment and alternative technologies. It is here that the spectre of nuclear energy is introduced, stressing the inevitability of transition to nuclear in the assertion that it is 'wrong to cling on to the old ways of the hydro boys. Instead we must wholeheartedly embrace development and study and adjust to developing technologies of giants such as France and the US.' This challenges the viability of the hydro projects in temporal terms, making them appear anachronistic. An attempt is also made to separate the troubled Swedish nuclear program from international, large scale nuclear. This is typified by the view that:

Hydro power is not our only salvation, but rather a relic from an age when environment was seen as worthless and alternative energy sources economically unviable.

The central section thus combines a desire for a technological eco-modernity with the initial criticism of the hydro-projects' selective information provision. This is tied to the final section which introduces intergenerationalism in the light of the subjective nature of the scientific knowledge guiding the hydro electric planning. The intergenerationalism and eco-modernity combine in the sentence "The decisions regarding how the society inhabited by our children will be build are entirely dependent on judgement! Judgements which it is our right and duty to make ourselves, without suddenly being exposed to huge propaganda campaigns". This final section also introduces notions of citizenship, democracy and guardianship. This collocation of technological eco-modernity (nuclear development) with intergenerational perspectives and a contemporary desire for unbiased information thus ties together state, political system and environment, facilitating a criticism of the government more generally as they engage in 'secret propaganda' around election time. The irony of such a perspective relative to the nuclear referendum is discussed and an explanation of the coexistence of such paradoxes given in the concluding chapter.

The text makes a great deal of capital out of the transitivity of local people, representing them as passive but arguing explicitly for them to be granted power. This is exemplified by the previously mentioned 'judgements which are our right and duty to make ourselves', contrasted with the way in which the public are being 'exposed' [utsättas] to propaganda. The deeper implication here in terms of the discussions of specific environmental ethics is that the ability of people to act as their own moral agent is compromised by the false information provided. This inability to resist is evident in the first few lines in the observation that 'the Swedish people have been flooded with a tide of propaganda', 'diluting conservation concerns.' Once again, support for the project is dismissed as based on false premises, with the power to resist somehow remaining hidden and unused in the face of government tricks. Interestingly, this leads to the creation of the community, rather than the river itself, as victim.

The most explicit example of wording is the repeated use of 'propaganda' to refer to government information on hydro electricity, the connotations of which are entirely

negative. This operates in tandem with the qualified use of ‘experts’. Unlike many other texts, the term ‘environment’ [*miljö*] is deployed on numerous occasions, but in terms largely of nature conservation. Despite growing awareness of the risks of nuclear energy, no mention is made of more abstract environmental thinking and the term appears in tandem with conservation [*naturvårdsintresse*]. This pro-conservation, pro-nuclear stance is also evident in the second analysis on campaign messaging in chapter five on nuclear energy.¹⁴

Thematically, there is a huge emphasis on realisation, information and enlightenment. This begins in the first line with the mentions of a propaganda flood and is continued into the second paragraph with the allegation of a biased information campaign. The rheme of the second thematic section then dissects the apparent falsehoods which come from the information, including what will happen to the natural habitat. A third thematic section begins with an emphasis on ‘costs’, thus allowing the rheme to expand on the relative costs of the campaign itself and the costs of energy transition and import, bringing in nuclear as a potential solution.

Information returns as the thematic lead with the mention of ‘huge and sudden publicity’, continued into the next thematic section of resistance and the call to ‘not accept that white be painted as black’, the rheme of which seeks to establish a gulf between the realities of hydro development and the knowledge propagated by the government. The final thematic section is themed on realisation in its call to ‘realise that the decisions regarding society’ are the result of subjective judgements. The net effect of this thematic continuity is the construction of the debate as being a conflict of knowledge provision rather than the essential scientific legitimacy of the project.

Given its suggesting of alternatives, the text exhibits a modality which offers a choice between alternatives and suggests preferences. Phrases such as ‘the general public must understand’ and ‘money could instead be spent on energy imports’ are critical in opening up the certainties of the government energy programme whilst allowing for the use of a moral standpoint about what should be done. Such modality is critical to the article’s attempt to function as a moral arbiter in the environmental question, in part through the provision of new information.

¹⁴ Cf. Ch. 6, Analysis 3

The idea of an information flood forms a central metaphor, sometimes explicitly on phrases such as ‘flood of propaganda’, but often implicitly in the passivisation of individual people against the tide of information and the associated power of the government to influence opinion. The flood metaphor has important implications for the creation of an anti-statist position, but is also highly appropriate given the Vindel hydro project’s stated aims of stopping the river and holding back the water.

The net effect of the textual characteristics in the debate article create new sets of overlapping ethe, being both conservation minded but pro-nuclear. It characterises itself as being strongly in favour of technological eco-modernity through the use of nuclear power, hydroelectricity being temporally relegated, and also places great value in the provision of security of energy supply alongside conservation. Like many other texts in the corpus, it regards the provision of non-biased information as an internal good, exhibiting a rationalism which assumes that unsound environmental decisions rest purely on a lack of factual accuracy. Through the adoption of a progressive, informationalist ethos which takes on responsibility for diminishing risk, the text is able to solve the apparent ethical paradox between industrial development and wilderness preservation. Not only is this similar to the ecological modernisation which claims to solve such friction in the 1990s, it also illustrates the idea of diminishing risk as a virtue of political leaders.¹⁵

Summary

The text is notable for its attempt to create support for nuclear energy as a non-destructive alternative to hydroelectricity by portraying it as a safer investment which better meets the needs of the economy, the wilderness movement and the wellbeing of future generations. It also has a secondary purpose, whereby it is used to criticise the power of the government more generally and function as a party-political tool in opposition to the absolute power of state utilities.

Like the other texts appearing in the centralised Stockholm media, it is able to contextualise the conflict in terms of the relevant national actors – the water utilities and the government – rather than in terms of the local population. Somewhat ironically, the pro-nuclear standpoint which it takes would be rearticulated by the Social Democrats

¹⁵ Cf. discussion of risk and mitigation of risk as value pp 245-246

subsequently in defence of the continuation of the Swedish nuclear programme. Most revealingly, the environment is promoted foremost as beneficiary rather than justification for the abandonment of the nuclear project, with the provision of information becoming a good in itself.

5.8 The debate as a whole

Moving to look at the debate at large, the quantitative overview of the ethetic frames attributed to each individual text from the corpus shows a relatively diverse set of categorisations. These reflect the diversity and nuance of news and opinion responding to events, but set side by side they also offer insight into the recurring features of text in terms of both content and style, and by extension of the collective argument (s) opposing the development of the Vindel river. Conspicuous by their absence, however, are media texts which wholeheartedly endorse the government's plans. The more common labels appear larger, but it becomes apparent that there are a number of secondary frames interacting with and operating within the central concepts, as shown in Fig. 5.2.

5.9 Data

36 different newspaper texts were retrieved regarding the Vindel, of which a slight majority were taken from the broadsheets *Dagens Nyheter* and *Svenska Dagbladet*. This did, however, provide a spread of textual ethe more diverse than the sample size might warrant. This is significant in that the debate was nationally important but did not create the same kind of press impact as the two other case studies, and the forms in which the debate is discussed and reported on in national media were specific to the agenda of national government.

Of the Vindel corpus there were nine articles from *Expressen*, just three from *Aftonbladet*, ten from *Dagens Nyheter* and fourteen from *Svenska Dagbladet*. Of these texts the majority were news articles (18), followed by leaders (12) and with an equal number of news features and debate articles (3). This meant that the interaction between news and comment largely involved reporting of events with commentary by centralised voices from within the newspapers themselves, and by extension the capital city. This is of particular interest because of the way in which it eschewed localism and relied on how holders of power perceived the debate instead of facilitating a genuine account of local conditions on the local community's interactional terms.



Fig. 5.2 Word cloud showing incidence and relative importance of ethos frames. The prominent role played by information is apparent.

5.10 Mapping textual ethos

What becomes evident from looking at the labels quantitatively is that information and its use was key to any discussion of the debate. Rather than using static knowledges, the texts constantly seek, produce and reproduce new information for their audiences. The idea of articles of all genres being ‘informed’ is all-encompassing, and the war over the new information discourse is the dominant arbiter of the debate. This is closely followed by questions of economy, the articulation or appearance of ‘vision’ and the preservation and the perpetuation and upholding of a democratic ethos. Assembled as a corpus, the texts reveal the existence of both these dominant values and of a number of less dominant but still important sub frames such as a characteristics of pragmatism, progress and inevitability. These I now discuss.

Informationism

The clearest property of all of the texts and arguments surveyed is the notion of informing, being informed and obtaining information. This is a far broader frame than discussions of particular points and a more topic-based discussion, instead dealing with the very arena of information itself, how it is created and contested, and moreover with the production of new types of knowledge.

One example of this is the debate article from *Expressen* previously discussed in Analysis 4, in which the author, an economist, stresses the creation of fact over estimation and attempts to deligitimise the very technology of hydro-electric power as being counter to societal and technological progress. This is an attempt to create a new type of objective information which undermines the apparently incontestable knowledge produced by pro-development ‘expert’ voices. This is even more evident in a news article which appeared in *Svenska Dagbladet* on the 21 February 1970¹⁶ (Fig. 5.3), reporting a call by the pressure group network Norrländska Aktionsgruppen (The Norrland Action Group, campaigning for the economy of Northern Sweden at large) that the information produced by the government in their report and consultation on the Vindel River project is illegitimate, and that there should be a new study carried out.

In English the key section of the article reads:

¹⁶ Appendix II, text 33

- The material concerning the Vindel River, and foremost the Ministry of Industry's promemoria, has such gaps and inaccuracies that it has to be asked whether it was actually the intention to deceive both the general public and decision makers at a fundamental level.

That was the salvo fired off on Friday by the Norrland-Stockholm and Norrland-Uppsala groups in a message to the government. The signatories demand a new inquiry using entirely original material on the future development of the Vindel Valley.

- In this important question we have today no collected body of evidence that could be used to justify construction.

Both groups explain in an attached promemoria why they deem the Ministry of Industry's inquiry to be unsatisfactory.

The central criticism contained in the text is that the information presented to both the government and the public is somehow inadequate, and that the very questions posed in the original study are flawed. This particular criticism seeks to do two things with the idea of a new information discourse. Firstly, it challenges the existing construction of objective fact and demands that there should be a new set of facts established, all the time adhering tightly to the idea that the debate itself can be adequately settled through the provision of information. This maintains the idea of factual information itself as an arbiter as a universal good, but challenges the existing knowledge sets which ostensibly conform to the 'factual' criteria which dominate the entire discussion. Simultaneously, it makes demands on the creation of and provision of new sets of knowledge. This is also evident in a leader in *Svenska Dagbladet* written on 10 November 1969¹⁷, reproduced in Fig. 5.4, which invokes the insight of three 'prominent scientists' in the introduction of new, factual, information.

The summary of their expert opinion is that 'In short, it is not possible to rank any of the four rivers [considered for exploitation] in order, and that all four should be preserved.' In terms of transitivity, the agents are the scientific community, not activists or opponents. Given the implicit trust in the idea of information, making the producers of such knowledge the primary agents transforms the debates from arguments into requests for knowledge. Whilst there is a lack of trust in the ability of institutions to govern, the idea of objective information remains a powerful tool.

¹⁷ Appendix II, text 24

Ny Vindelälvsutredning krävs 'Huvudfrågorna bortblandade'

— Materialet i Vindelälvsfrågan, främst Industridepartementets PM, har sådana brister och felaktigheter att det måste ifrågasättas om det funnits intentioner att på väsentliga grunder vilseleda allmänheten och de beslutsfattande.

Den sålvan avslöjades på fredagen av Norrlandska Stockholmsgruppen och Norrlandska Uppslagsgruppen i en skrivelse till regeringen. Underifrån berättar om en ny och från tidigare material fristående utredning om framtidsutvecklingen för Vindelälven.

— I denna betydelsefulla fråga finns idag inget sammanfattande material som kan läggas till grund för beslut om utbyggnad.

De båda grupperna motiverar i en bifogad PM varför de helt underkänner Industridepartementets utredning. SvD återger här några punkter ur promemorian:

♦ Huvudfrågorna för Vindelälven har blandats bort genom att jämförelser gjorts med Torne och Kalix älvar. Det var från början uppenbart att dessa älvar, särskilt med hänsyn till försvarets krav, inte kan kopplas i fråga för kraft-

många platsannonserna. Avsikten med tidskriften är att öppna ett slags postuniversitet. De flesta akademiker blir så snalpolitiska när de kommer ut i förvärslivet. Här får de en möjlighet att orientera sig om utvecklingen inom andra områden än sina egna specialiteter.

Svenska Intermediär är ett dotterföretag till det holländska, men redaktionen är rent svensk. En liknande tidskrift skall inom kort starta i Belgien och planer finns också på en tysk version. Huvudparten av innehållet blir av svenskt ursprung, men vi har också möjligheter att köpa och över-sätta material från andra intermediärer. Tidskriften innehåller plats- och informationsannonser, men däremot inte rena reklamannonser.

Praktiskt taget alla personer med akademisk examen under 46 år får tidskriften gratis, med undantag för medicinare. Andra kategorier kan givetvis prenumerera på den mot en avgift. Det första numret blir på 24 sidor. Redan om ett par nummer räknar vi med att upplagan skall ha stigit till 60 000 slutar doc. Samatissom.

utbyggnad på rimliga ekonomiska villkor.

♦ Industridepartementets utredning har okritiskt utgått från Vattenfalls material.

♦ Antagandena beträffande ränta och avskrivningstider är förfärliga och har tidigare varit föremål för kritik inom departementen.

Sysselsättningsargumentet har i allt väsentligt vederlagts genom remissyttrandena.

Så långt Norrlandsgruppen. Endast några veckor återstår till ett beslut om Vindelälven. Regeringens, enskilda statsråd, riksdagsmen och tidningar bombarderas i dessa dagar med skrivelser och inlägg i "det sista försök".

Vem gläds av ödebygd?

SvD fick t.ex. på fredagen ett långt brev undertecknat av "Vindels fastighetsägare, företagare och Vindels FCO". Även statsminister Palme och industriminister Wickman fick likalydande skrivelser. Brevskrivarna ivar för en utbyggnad.

— En ödebygd Vindelälven bet: er tillsammans som en snabbt avfolkad Vindelälvs. Vem har glädje av en sådan utveckling? Turisterna kanske? Eller närvarandena?

En utbyggnad är visserligen ingen slungig lösning på älvdalens problem. Men den löser problemet under några år — medan andra åtgärder binner utvecklas. Under utbyggnaden pumpas pengar in i bygden och med dessa kan grunden läggas till sänkning med sikte på att bibehålla livskraftiga orter längs älven.

— Blir inte Vindelälven ödebygd, kommer ålalen att ligga nämligen öde om ett fåtal år. Den som hävdar annat saknar respekt för ekonomiska realiteter, slutar brevet från Vindeln.

Sveriges folk-hjäl!

Byldermännan i Mårdsle, Bursle och Ekornäs-Ekornäs har rakt motrikt uppfattning. De har sagt SvD ett upprop i vilket de "vädjar till hela Sveriges folk om hjälp inför boet om Vindelälvens utbyggnad".

— Av våra tre byar 49 skiftsdelägare är 43 emot all reg-

lering av Vindelälven. Vi frågar om med både frukten och bitterheten om lösningen av ett tillfälligt sysselsättningsproblem får leda till att våra egna och våra förfäders livsverk spölieras, samtidigt som vi för alltid förlorar den trivial vi nu känner för vår hembygd.

Låt inte vår framtid ödeläggas

genom ett kortsluttigt beslut

Tre brev av några tiotal. Och bakom varje och ett står många och heta viljor. Kan de påverka statsråden innan dessa går att skriva slutkapitlet i Vindelälvsförelöjningen?

OMAR MAGNERGÅRD

Helén får kritiskt brev från centerns studenter

Vill du verkligen prioritera mittensamverkan som det härnärde alternativet till den socialdemokratiska regeringspolitiken eller anser du trepartissamverkan mera realistisk och angelägen? Den frågan ställs till fp-ledaren Gunnar Helén av centerns studentförbund, som i ett brev starkt kritiserar flera av hr Heléns uttalanden sedan han tillträdde partiledarposten.

Centerstudenterna ogillar bl.a. hr Heléns åsikter om USA.

Du har reservationslöst anslutit dig till tron på USA som den "most lofthetiska demokratin i världen". Man hade knappast väntat sig att en partiledare så fullständigt skulle negligera de kriserade utvecklingsstendenser som kännetecknar USA inrikespolitiskt och utrikespolitiskt, skriver de och anser det synnerligen beklagligt om den nye fp-ledaren "låter följda den äventyrliga utrikespolitiska linje som kännetecknade Ohlin/Wedén-epoken".

Centerstudenterna vänder sig också mot ett tidsningsuttalande av hr Helén där denne talar om det ökade antalet utlänningar i svenska arbetslivet som en viktig anledning till de vilda strejkerna.

— Ser du ingen fara i att ett sådant uttalande kan tas som intäkter för andra uttalanden med medvetna eller omedvetna rasistiska undertoner? frågas det i brevet.

I centerns studentförbund är man kritisk mot ett uttalande av hr Helén i remissdebatten där han vänder sig mot förslaget om höjd straffranta på ej inbetalda skatter.

Det innebär, heter det i brevet, att hr Helén accepterar skattesmitning som en legal finansieringsform. — Du lär ha svårt att finna en centerpartist som stöder

dessa idéer, menar centerstudenterna.

Koksalt i isen vid fältarbete

Fil. Sc. Thorsten Stenborg disputerar idag, torsdag, i Naturgeografiska institutionen, Uppsala, på sin doktorsavhandling "Studies of the hydrological characteristics of glaciers". I avhandlingen tas upp glaciärernas betydelse som sörvattenmagasin och vattenreglerare. Under ett enkelt år har glaciärläcktorna områden stora variationer i avrinningen. Denna följer

inte bara sommar och vinter i avrinningen. Denna följer inte bara sommar och vinter utan också sommarens olika delar. Glaciärerna orsakar t.ex. en betydande avrinningsfördröjning från sommarens ledningsfas till högsommaren. Som exempel anförs en fördröjning vid en motström 25 proc. av ett helt års avrinning.

Målsättningen för avhandlingen är att belysa hur en glaciärens egenskaper såsom struktur, temperaturförhållanden och topografi påverkar avrinningen. För att kunna spåra dräneringsvägar har man sprutat in koksaltlösning i glaciären och spårat lösningen i bäckarna. Författaren har funnit att dräneringsvägarna ligger vid eller nära dalsidorna, vilket står i kontrast med uppfattningen att dräneringen sker som ett normalt

Opponenten är bliv. prof. Valter Schytti, Stockholm, t.f. bliv. prof. John O. Norrman, Uppsala, och lektor Karl Göran Reinger Linköping.

Fig. 5.3 News article reporting the views of the Norrland action group. 'New Vindel report demanded: , main questions sidelined' reads the headline. It seeks to question the information provided in the existing official report as unreliable. (Svenska Dagbladet 21-2-1970: 14)

Norrlands älvar

En massiv naturvårdsopinion kräver att Vindelälven inte exploateras. Riksdagen har uttalat samma mening. Inte desto mindre har regeringen som bekant — driven mera av prestige än av något annat — vägrat att resolut säga ifrån att det inte kommer att bli någon utbyggnad.

Den hittills sista turen i den bisarra långdansen är idén om en s. k. paketlösning. Vindelälven skulle bedömas i ett sammanhang med de övriga återstående orörda norrlandsälvarna, Torne, Kalix och Pite älv, så fick man se vad som kunde sparas och vad som måste exploateras.

Tre framstående vetenskapsmän har nu på Naturvårdsverkets uppdrag analyserat problemet. Från exploateringsivrnarnas synpunkt måste resultatet av granskningen te sig nedslående: forskarna hävdar kort och gott att någon gradering av de fyra älvarnas värde inte låter sig göra, att alla fyra bör skonas.

På visst sätt är resultatet ganska självklart. De berörda vattensystemen är sinsemellan så olika att det närmast vore nonsens att säga att det ena är intressantare eller värdefullare än det andra. Däremot kan, med starka skäl, hävdas att de alla var för sig representerar

värden av den art som samhället helt enkelt inte har råd att avhända sig. I detta sammanhang är det nödvändigt att hålla i minnet, att det från modern naturvårdssynpunkt just är helheten, de sammanhängande orörda systemen, som är väsentliga. Att diskutera "kompromisser" av innebörd att skona vissa särskilt utvalda bitar av älvarna är att gå vid sidan av saken, avslöjar endast att förslagsställaren inte vill eller förmår se problemets kärnpunkt.

Vid det här laget är det uppenbart för var och en, att en utbyggnad icke kan motiveras med kraftbehovet. Vårt energitillskott måste under alla förhållanden inom överskådlig tid till övervägande del komma från atomkraftverk. På längre sikt representerar en exploatering av de fyra älvarna endast en marginalpost som inte kan tillmätas någon avgörande betydelse.

Sedan detta faktum äntligen accepterats, motiveras exploateringsplanerna som bekant med sysselsättningsargument. Det är dock inte fråga om att skapa arbetstillfällen för befolkningen i de berörda områdena — det är Vattenfalls egen arbetsstyrka det gäller att sysselsätta. Argumentet är, som Svenska Dagbladet upprepade

Fig. 5.4 A leader from *Svenska Dagbladet* stressing the importance of technological 'expert' knowledge. (10-11-1969:2)

Economy

The second most numerous frame across the corpus relates to economism, job creation and the reinvigoration of the flagging region. The texts, both pro- and anti-construction, articulate different visions for the creation of a sustainable economic future for the Vindel valley and for the region at large. The creation of employment is seen as a good in itself and a prime example of this preoccupation is the leader published by *Dagens Nyheter* on 31 January 1970 entitled ‘The Vindel River and Jobs’, containing the passage:

The EPA considers that the department’s working group on the question of the Norrlandic rivers provides only one justification for the eventual harnessing of the river. That is the issue of employment. From all other perspectives it is justified to preserve all of the remaining undeveloped rivers, all of which have natural worth and for which the energy consequences of construction would be either unneeded or unprofitable.

The EPA stress that construction on the Vindel would scarcely result an even temporary increase in employment opportunities. Construction would also simultaneously reduce employment I current and future commerce in the area.

Key to this piece is the manner in which the two paragraphs of news report follow one another, creating a collocative relationship. It begins stating that basic motivation for the scheme is that it should be used to create jobs. The following paragraph then moves to manipulate this, undermining the employment argument. Rather than attempting to assert that the preservation of the river is more important than jobs, the leader turns it on its head and argues that preserving the river will actively encourage economic development. Linked to this is a rearticulation of economic development per se, from large scale bulk employers to smaller, locally framed businesses.

This is also evident in a Leader from *Expressen*, written on 8 March 1970¹⁸, which re-asserts the idea of the primary aim of the project being the economic interests of the Vattenfall energy company. Under the headline ‘Power from the Vindel River, small but cheap’, it reports the statistic that the net impact of building a hydro-electric power station would be negligible in terms of energy production, but that it would be ‘cheap’.

¹⁸ Appendix II, text 6

Vindelälvs kraft liten men billig

— Ur kraftförsörjningssynpunkt är Vindelälven inte nödvändig, men den är det bästa ekonomiska projekt vi har att bygga ut.

Det sade Vattenfalls styrelseordförande, f generaldirektören Erik Grafström i går.

Sysselsättningsaspekten är inte väsentlig. Vattenfall har inte tagit med Vindelälven i sitt långtidsprogram.

Och till det nödvändiga energiflodet skulle den alltså bara ge en liten rännil. Då kan man lika gärna bygga ut Fyrisån nedanför Uppsala. Den ger visserligen just ingen elkraft alls, men det skulle vara väldigt billigt.

Fig. 5.5 A leader from *Expressen*, questioning the energy economics of building the Vindel scheme (08-03-1970:2)

This undermines the idea of national urgency and energy security, characterising the project as an economic gain for Vattenfall and its workers only, not for the community. The body of the text in English reads:

Vindel River energy small but cheap

- From the point of view of power generation the Vindel is not needed, but it is the best project for development in economic terms.

So said Vattenfalls chairman, General Direktor Erik Grafström yesterday.

The employment aspect is not fundamental here. Vattenfall has not included the Vindel in its long term projections

And in terms of the energy needed it would only be a trickle. It would be just as viable to build on the River Fyris downstream of Uppsala. It would not provide any energy to speak of, but would be cheap.

As is further discussed in the conclusion, this engineering of alternative economic futures re-occurs in both the nuclear and road studies in attempts to temporally connect past experience of economic problems with present conditions and future possibilities.

Democracy

Democracy in its various forms – citizen, parliamentary and deliberative - is extremely prevalent. This occurs explicitly in reference to systems of democracy and implicitly in the representation of different voices and through the construction of community and the idea of consensus. A prime example is the text studied in Analysis 3, taking different components of a democratic ethos as its starting point. It featured as agents ‘three weighty voices’ (in Swedish also readable as ‘votes’), which have entered the debate, in actual fact organisations which constitute a deliberative, technocratic arena. This is then set against the will of the democratically-elected Prime Minister, who in the spirit of democracy is expected to follow the advice of the majority view as expressed by the texts’ agents - the environment agency, the board of trade and the treasury office. This creates a knowledgeable majority of opinion in the matter and superimposes a democratic frame onto what is a technocratic decision.

This idea of representative democracy returns again in a news feature¹⁹ published in *Aftonbladet* on 5 February 1970, presented under the headline ‘Three are in favour, but

¹⁹ Appendix II, text 11

nine are against' (Fig .5.6) The article itself dealt with several of the specific topics of the debate – employment, conservation and regional power, but frames it entirely within the context of democratic will. The agents (and primary identities) of the article are once again the various instruments of state and society, rearticulated as voting voices.

Anti-statism and regionalism

A third major frame is anti-statism, in some cases manifested as a reflexive regionalism, whereby the state is seen to be actively working against the interests of local people. In some cases this is actively anti-socialist, whilst in others it exists purely as way of delineating the Northern centralised community from the power-centres of the South. On the 21 November 1969, just as the debate was beginning to gain further media traction, a leader appeared in *Expressen* under the headline 'Nothing New on the River Front'. The article takes the state and the government as its primary agent , but this agent is characterised as being both intransigent and short-sighted. There as in acceptance that power rests with the government, but a criticism about the government's ability to adequately wield that power in terms of local benefit:

The Vindel's development will give a few hundred people jobs for around ten years. But then the situation will be much the same as before. To try and attack Norrland's problems with employment by developing the Vindel is a short sighted and inadequate solution. What Norrland needs is a politics to create sustainable employment for a great many people.

The extent to which this text is representative of the actual voice of the area, being written by a centrally-published newspaper, is debatable. Nonetheless, on a purely argumentative level it illustrates how concerns about region and power are used in criticism of government. This also exists within a framework of Norrland 'needing' and the government 'giving', as opposed to Norrland creating employment of its own accord.

Vindelälven: Tre är för utbyggnad — men nio är emot

Av GUDRUN EKEFLO

Snart avgörs Vindelälvens framtid. Remisstiden har gått ut. De flesta remissinstanserna är emot en utbyggnad. Nu ligger avgörandet hos regeringen. Beslutar den en utbyggnad ska propositionen läggas fram före den 20 mars. 19 av de 22 remissinstanserna har lämnat svar till industridepartementet.

FÖR en utbyggnad av älven har hittills bara tre organ uttalat sig: LO, länsstyrelsen i Västerbottens län och Kommunförbundet.

Fem organ har inte tagit ställning: Arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen, Lantbruksstyrelsen, Sveriges geologiska undersökningar, Sveriges meteorologiska och hydrologiska institut och jordbruksdepartementets kommitté för planering av turist- och friluftsanläggningar.

MOT en utbyggnad är: Naturvetenskapliga forskningsrådet, TCO, Domänverket, Universitetskanslerämbetet, Fiskeristyrelsen, Planverket, Naturvårdsverket, Kommerskollegiet och länsstyrelsen i Norrbottens län.

De tre som inte svarat är Industriförbundet, Arbetsgivarförbundet och Vattenfallsverket.

Strid i 12 år

Vindelälvens utbyggnad har varit en stridsfråga i tolv år. Då startade Vattenfall sin projektering som hittills kostat 21,5 miljoner kronor.

I december 1967 sa riksdagen nej till en utbyggnad av älven. Oppositionen gick emot, utom centern som är delad. Också socialdemokraterna är splittrade i den här frågan. Majoriteten av de socialdemokratiska riksdagsledamöterna röstade för att frågan skulle lämnas öppen.

I juni i fjol tillsattes en arbetsgrupp för de outbyggda norr-

landsälvarna (Piteälven, Kalixälven, Torneälven och Vindelälven). I den ingår folk från jordbruks- och industridepartementet och experter från Vattenfall och Naturvårdsverket. Gruppens promemoria blev klar i november och skickades ut på remiss till en rad instanser.

Arbetslöshet

Striden har varit het och har engagerat människor över hela landet. De två lägren har kallats "dämnarna" — de som vill dämma upp älven — och "svämmarna" — de som vill låta den svämma fritt.

Många av kommunerna vid Vindelälven och vissa arbetarorganisationer i älvdalarna är för en utbyggnad.

Motiv:

Kraftekonomiska skäl. Man skulle få 2,8 miljarder kWh om året vilket motsvarar den årliga ökningen av det svenska kraftbehovet. Vinsten skulle bli 2-6,5 miljoner kronor om året i jämförelse med billigaste alternativet atomkraft plus gasturbiner.

Men det viktigaste skälet för en utbyggnad är sysselsättningen i området. Det är vad LO tagit fasta på i sitt remissvar. Byggnadsarbetareförbundet och Skogsarbetareförbundet har också enhälligt uttalat sig för en utbyggnad.

Arbetslösheten i de berörda områdena är mycket stor. Utflyttningen ökar ständigt. Under utbyggnadsperioden (10 år) skulle omkring 830 man få arbete. Av dem skulle omkring 250 rekryteras på orten. Drift och underhåll skulle ge permanent sysselsätt-

ning åt cirka 100 man.

LO framhåller i sitt svar att utbyggnaden inte löser sysselsättningsproblemen men att den kan förbättra förutsättningarna för en industriell tillväxt.

Motiven för dem som är mot utbyggnad:

Framst naturvården, forskningen och turismen. Vindelälven är den sista av de sydliga norrländska storälvarna och är unik. Den är t ex med hela sitt vattenflöde upptagen i det internationella vattenskyddsprogrammet (Project Acua).

Den är ett forskningsområde för Umeå universitet som har landets enda professur i miljöbotanik och miljözoologi. Vindelälven är vidare rikets andra laxälv och området har ett högt turistvärde.

En skarp kritik av utbyggnadsplanerna kommer från Kammarkollegiet. Regleringen av Gautojaure är otillätlig eftersom den innebär att den befolkning som är bofast vid sjön (26 personer) tvingas lämna sin hembygd. Gransleregleringen berör drygt 100 personer. De flesta av dem måste flytta.

Flera av remissinstanserna anser att arbetsgruppen inte räknat med vilka arbetstillfällen som går förlorade om älven byggs ut. Bl a skulle ett par hundra flottare förlora sitt jobb. För en kommun som Sorsele som är beroende av skogsnäringen betyder det ökad arbetslöshet.

Inte heller regeringen är enig. Krister Wickman och Gunnar Sträng sägs vara för en utbyggnad. Flera statsråd är emot, bland dem jordbruksminister Ingemund Bengtsson.

Fig. 5.6. A news story from *Aftonbladet*, with the headline 'The Vindel River: Three for construction — but nine against.' (06-02-1970:19)

This is carried further in an editorial published in *Dagens Nyheter* on 16 December 1969²⁰ with the headline ‘The Vindel River And The Question of Prestige’. It supposes that the interests and prestige of the state have been placed in front of the local community, referred to as ‘one sided interests’:

In certain questions essential to their assessment the working group have clearly allowed themselves to be influenced by the interests of one side, where for example prestige can be presumed to have had a decisive impact.

This emphasis serves two differing purposes. Firstly, it creates a state in opposition to reality which puts its own interests before the people it is supposed to serve. This has a second, knock-on, effect whereby the need to maintain prestige goes against the previously discussed idea that information is one of the key means of resolving the debate. This establishes a framework where the state is an agent, but an irresponsible one. This mirrors Ebba Lisberg-Jansen’s theorising of Norrland as an extraction economy (Lisberg-Jansen 2009), in which centralised cultural and economic structures seek to aid peripheral regions as a means of guaranteeing continued economic extraction and the preservation of power.

A very similar line is taken in another *Dagens Nyheter* leader²¹ published a few days later, reproduced in Fig. 5.8, criticising the government for its support for the Vindel project. Its most biting criticism is that ‘The chairman of the Swedish National Committee on the Year of Nature Conservation, former Prime Minister Tage Erlander, can truly claim that the government has contributed to raising awareness of man’s tendency to destroy his environment, and of man’s ability to mould nature according to his will for the worse.’

The specific topic of discussion in this case is conservation, but its presentation of one of anti-state control, the subtext being that the talismanic Tage Erlander (who had been Prime Minister for a record 23 years) and his party wield too much power and are abusing that power, not least in the context of the domination/submission paradigm of man to nature which equally readable in a state to people context. The idea of the Social Democratic Party as a clunking and overbearing political project was a regular criticism

²⁰ Appendix II, text 18

²¹ Appendix II, text 19

from the right and liberal left, not least in debates over regionalism against centralisation and the competing cultures of place and political movement. As Thomas Pettersson (2009) notes, however, there arose a new appetite for maintenance of the Swedish regions through schemes such as transport subsidies under an ideology of interregional equality (including arguments of intranational infrastructure which resurface in the discussion of roadbuilding in chapter seven). One limit of such narratives of local control is noted by Elander and Montin (1990:117) in their conclusion that the 1970s and 1980s saw the state ‘promising more autonomy to local governments [whilst] central government may at the same time strengthen its grip over the purse.’ The inherent friction between state and local community thus becomes a dominant frame of reference in Sweden’s developmental discourses.

Conservation

The next most numerous identity is conservation, which takes a number of different forms. In certain cases there is a Malthusian approach to limited resources in which the Vindel and other rivers in the region become assets, especially within the context of the state management of land. On the 30 October 1969 a news feature²² appeared in *Svenska Dagbladet* documenting calls by the Swedish Environment Agency to turn the upper Vindel River and the surrounding area into a national park. Under the unambiguous headline ‘Make a National Park out of the Upper Vindel’, it recommends the formation of a protected national park area for reasons largely associated with safeguarding against external pressures. Its reasoning is summarised in a contextualising quote:

The proposal should be viewed as part of wider attempts to attain a, from a long-term perspective, sensible management of the largely irreplaceable natural resources and assets that our untouched highland regions represent.

This is a relatively traditional argument, based heavily on the general ideological basis of the Swedish national parks and conservation movement and an aesthetic conception of landscape. Swedish conservation movements, and particularly conceptions of the Norrlandic landscape, were rooted heavily in the national romanticism of the late 1800s in which “Nature stood for the motherland, for beauty and style, and for healing and recovery, both mental and physical.” (Ödman, Bucht, Nordström: 92) Published in a

²² Appendix II, text 25

conservative newspaper, it also embodies ideas about national parks as a popular movement and as a means of constructing national community.

A similar approach is found in another article from *Svenska Dagbladet* published on 31 March 1970²³ with the title ‘Vattenfall’s diggers in Sjaunja the end for a rare wilderness’, illustrated in Fig. 5.8.

Landscape is once again presented as a finite resource to be protected, and uniqueness or rarity are constructed as virtues. This particular article discusses one of the alternatives to developing the Vindel River, emphasising protection and prevention using a blanket attitude as opposed to making situated arguments for each individual case.

This aesthetic approach to conservation is further continued in a report²⁴ published by *Dagens Nyheter* on 15 February 1970 with the heading ‘Artists into action’, whereby a group of artists are portrayed as acting to preserve the beauty and artistic value of the local area. This is, however, more nuanced than the simple preservation of an unchanging cultural heritage and appears to conform to Bosse Sundin’s description of Norrlandic landscape preservation as having moved on from the preservation of historic sites to the holistic integrity of the landscape itself (Sundin 2006), albeit with a realisation that this must come to terms with the modern world rather than existing external to history. This is also one of the few instances of the environment itself being characterised as internal or public goods.

²³ Appendix II, text 37

²⁴ Appendix II, text 22

veten och artikulera behovet avgöres centralt av den fack- skall ja en anständig utställning

Naturvårdsåret och Vindelälven

År 1970 har proklamerats som det Europeiska naturvårdsåret. Europarådet har beslutat att naturvårdsåret bland annat skall syfta till att rikta uppmärksamheten på människans benägenhet att förstöra sin omgivning, på människans möjligheter att på gott och ont forma naturen efter sina behov och önsningar samt på nödvändigheten att på lång sikt planera en

förnuftig användning av Europas naturresurser.

Om förre kommunikationsministern Gösta Skoglund får som han vill, kommer svenska regeringen att fira naturvårdsåret genom att driva igenom beslut om exploatering av Vindelälven. Ordföranden i svenska nationalkommittén för naturvårdsåret, förre statsministern Tage Erlander, kan verkligen påstå att regeringen har bidragit till att rikta uppmärksamheten på människans benägenhet att förstöra sin omgivning, och på människans möjligheter att på ont forma naturen efter sina önsningar.

Naturvårdsåret skall också firas med nya frimärken med svenska motiv å 55 och 70 öre. Lämpliga motiv för frimärken blir då Vindelälven sådan den ser ut i dag och sådan den skulle se ut sedan vattenfallsverket hade släppt gruvskoporna lösa i älvdalen. 55-öresmärket bör reserveras för bilder av älven efter exploateringen.

Finlands regering

var hundra procentigt enig i alla skeden av Nordekfrågans behandling, hävdade utrikesminister Kariainen i den fin-

Om man celebrerar naturvårdsåret 1970 med att besluta att bygga ut Vindelälven, kommer man att ha ett mycket typiskt exempel på naturförstöring att visa upp på FN:s världskonferens om miljöförändringar som skall hållas i Sverige 1972. När konferensen samlas 1972 har i så fall troligen exploateringsarbetena i Vindelälvsdalen just inletts. Konferensdeltagarna kan göra exkursioner till Vindelälven för att bese gruvskoporna i aktion. En del av konferensen kanske rent av kan hållas i Umeå så att deltagarna får den direkta kontakten med problemen.

Regeringen har veterligen ännu inte fattat något beslut om Vindelälven. Vi hoppas möjligheten att få tala om Vindelälven i festtal både vid naturvårdsåret 1970 och vid miljökonferensen 1972 piggar upp alla statsråd, särskilt Olof Palme.

valet — skulle alltså Nordekprojektet vad på Finland ankommer läggas på is för årtal framåt. Det är en behandling som det skulle ha minimala chanser att överleva.

**du någon
vård
app
kronor?**



Fig. 5.7 An editorial discussing the Vindel conflict in relation to the European year of conservation celebrated by the Swedish government. (*Dagens Nyheter* 18-12-1969: 2)

Fig. 5.8 An environmental report from *Svenska Dagbladet* on the alternative construction sites for hydroelectric stations. The newspaper has a specific section devoted to 'current conservation [*aktuell miljövård*]' (31-03-1970:9)

Söndagsbilagan

Dagens Nyheter Söndags den 15 februari 1970

ANTIK
MÖBLER
NYA
STIL
MÖBLER

UTSKOTT
MÖBLER
ORIENT
MATTOR

ANTIK
OCH NYA
KÖKSALL-
KÖKSIN

KÖNST-
AVALLER
SILVER
PÖRSLIN

Problemen som skapar
svårigheter för bevaran-
den i Vindelälven som snart ska
bli ett naturreservat.

SVEN HALLÉN SKREV
ÅKE MALMSTRÖM
FOTOGRAFERADE

De svenska
konstnärerna vill
göra sitt för att
rädda Vindelälven.
Och till skillnad
från andra till-
 eller avstyrkande
instanser har de
gått till direkta-
tion. På en brant
älvsnipa i ett av de
centrala och ståt-
ligaste älddalsepar-
terna - Vindeln
- har en konst-
närsgrupp redan
etablerat en
"koloni", för att
som de skriver i ett
brev till regeringen,
"med kraft gå emot
varje utbyggnad
av Vindelälven
och den därmed
följande naturför-
störelsen".

Konstnärer till aktion för VINDELÄLVEN

Konstnärer har i sista tiden
samlats till en grupp i Vindel-
älven och de vill rädda den från
att försvinna. Vindelälven är
en av de största och mest
viktiga vattendrag i Sverige.
Den är en av de största och
viktigaste vattendrag i Sverige.
Den är en av de största och
viktigaste vattendrag i Sverige.

Med sin i dagarna 11-åriga
historia har den 200 meter långa
Vindelälven varit en av de
största och viktigaste vattendrag
i Sverige. Den är en av de
största och viktigaste vattendrag
i Sverige. Den är en av de
största och viktigaste vattendrag
i Sverige.

Fingolen konstnärer har anordnat sig till kolonipraktiserad i Vindelälven som också är en aktion mot utbyggnadslösen.

Linguaphones
PROVLEKTION
på Åkers IF-skola
i engelska, tyska, franska,
italienska eller spanska
gratis!!!

En utbildning som i Sverige i 75-årsdagen av dess grund-
läggning har blivit en av de största och viktigaste i Sverige.
Den är en av de största och viktigaste i Sverige. Den är en av
de största och viktigaste i Sverige. Den är en av de största och
viktigaste i Sverige. Den är en av de största och viktigaste i
Sverige. Den är en av de största och viktigaste i Sverige.

Dragplåster

En av de största och viktigaste i Sverige.
Den är en av de största och viktigaste i Sverige. Den är en av
de största och viktigaste i Sverige. Den är en av de största och
viktigaste i Sverige. Den är en av de största och viktigaste i
Sverige. Den är en av de största och viktigaste i Sverige.

**exklusiv lägenhet
på Gran Canaria**

med högsommar hela vintern.
Ger 15 % årlig avkastning.

En av de största och viktigaste i Sverige.
Den är en av de största och viktigaste i Sverige. Den är en av
de största och viktigaste i Sverige. Den är en av de största och
viktigaste i Sverige. Den är en av de största och viktigaste i
Sverige. Den är en av de största och viktigaste i Sverige.

Fig. 5.9 A news feature reporting support for maintaining the Vindel by a group of local artists under the headline 'Artists into action for the Vindel'. (Dagens Nyheter 15-02-1970: 8)

Alternative and future vision

Bearing in mind this need to cope with change, an important component of many of the texts is thus the presence of alternate, or future visions of how things might be. This is part of the information discourse previously outlined and the production of specifically new knowledge that often supersedes the existing knowledge corpus, or at least transforms it and forces it to change direction.

An example of this is a leader²⁵ published on 21 January 1970 in *Svenska Dagbladet*. The piece was entitled 'Roads and the Vindel River' and takes as its starting point the future of the economy, ostensibly one of the factors behind building the hydro-electric scheme. There is an irony that building more roads is not particularly 'green' either, but its argument is that the same sum set aside for the hydro-electric project invested in roads would have longer term benefits for the local economy. It even makes the explicit analytical assertion that:

In the debate on the exploitation of the Vindel River, the question of employment has been the preserve of the arguments eagerly proposed by the project's supporters.

Upon this it constructs an alternative vision for employment which does not involve developing the river but which meets the aims of both immediate employment (roadbuilding) and longer term growth (infrastructure). As Madeleine Eriksson (2008:129) notes, there have been consistent attempts to counter the metonymns of 'spatial exception' prevalent in news reporting and media representations in contrasts to the modern ideals of southern urban Sweden by constructing an alternative Norrlandic modernity. This tack is evident once again, though with a different focus, in an article²⁶ published on 22 January 1970 in *Svenska Dagbladet* entitled 'Save the river for us!: Cry of help from youth in Norrland. (cf. Fig. 5.10) Under the sub-heading 'Generational Gap', there is a specific call to challenge the vision of the older generation:

The older generation have much to gain from developing the river. But in the first instance it is young people like us who want to see secure employment well into the future. We dearly want to be able to stay here by the river.

²⁵ Appendix II, text 27

²⁶ Appendix II, text 28

BEVARA ÄLVEN ÅT OSS!

Nöd drop från unga i Norrland

Att säga sitt i Vindelälvsfrågan har under ett par års tid bidragit till att vi i dag kan göra en ganska utförmående inventering av organisations-Sverige. En grupp har dock förekommit sparsamt i upprops- och uttalandeflöden, och förvånansvärt nog ungdomen. Och alldeles särskilt tyst har den ungdom varit som direkt berörs vid en eventuell utbyggnad — nämligen Norrlandsungdomen. Härnärskan damp det ned ett brev på redaktionsbordet med överskriften "Hjälp oss med älven" och undertecknat "Ämne: ungdomen". De har tillställt riksdagsmän och politiker, bl. a. fyra partiledare, ett uppopp. När nu unga människor, med sin egen framtid hårt förankrad vid älven, ger sin syn på Vindelälvsfrågan, tyckte vi på SvD att det kunde vara intressant att spegla detta i ett reportage.

En och en halv mil från Ämne uppströms Vindelälven ligger Mårselefors. Snön tynger grannarna på stranden och älven ser ut som en bred oplogad väg genom skogen. Mitt ute i läran bryter det becksvarva vattnet igenom isen, och röken "står" i den stränga kylan.

— Här ska dom bygga ett av kraftverken, säger Allan Andersson, 18 år och son till bagare Klas Andersson, som har "fiket" i Ämne. Och naturligtvis finns det många med strandtomter här som räknar med en god slant när Vattenfall vill köpa in marken.

I Ämne, ca tio mil från Umeå vid Vindelälven i Norrlands inland har Vindelälvsfrågan splittrat byns omkring 500 invånare i två läger. Stridslinjen går inom familjer och har söndrat byns SSU-förhållande, den enda ungdomsförening som fanns. Majoriteten av ungdomarna hyser inga som helst illusioner om vad "gubbarna i Stockholm" säger och smular skoningslöst sönder de äldres argument.

• Måste kämpa

— Vi kan väl inte stå här och se på när andra arbetar och bygger ut älven. Vad vinner vi på det? Och sedan när utbyggnaden är klar drar vattenrallarna bort igen. Det är vår framtid vi måste kämpa för — det behövs en långvarig satsning för att ge oss arbetet. Att bygga ut älven är som att ge morfin under döds kampen.

Ämne ligger mycket vackert i Vindelälvens flugång mellan de båda planerade kraftstationerna

vid Trollforsen och Mårselefors. Affektlösheten är inte värre i utflyttningsskolorna i Vindeln än i andra kommuner i Norrlands inland, men kommer säkert att bli det om byns ungdomar väljer att stanna på orten och de inte samtidigt får fler arbetstillfällen. Enda industri finns i Ämne, Linder & Danielssons snickerifabrik med 28 anställda. Många familjer lever fortfarande av småjordbruket som producerar mjölk, slaktidjur och foderväxter. Flera av den är också skogsägare i kommunen.

• Avfolkning

Men i Ämne lägstadieskola blir klappret i korridorerna och surt i klassrummen allt tystare för varje år. Ungdomen fortsätter skolgången och drar i veckorna iväg till eleghemmen i Lycksele och Umeå. Till högstadiet i Vindeln åkar några av dem tio mil om dan. Ämne blir allt tystare och i väntrummet på järnvägsstationen rör sig ned mot kusten. Ett anslag talar om att "trafiken läggs fr. o. m. den 28/9 1969 ned vid följande platser: Risberget, Åkerberg, Ämneby, Missabacken...". Kallt gånat, säger ungdomarna, tycks vi inte ha något att vänta av framtiden, och en utbyggnad av Vindelälven kan te sig som ett alternativ. Men beredskapsarbeten och kortvariga ämneexploateringar är inte vad vi vill ha.

• Bara två för

När de under helgerna möts på fiket, som sedan SSU-föreningen

upplöstes blivit debattforum tänds diskussionen snabbt och det är bara Åke Strömberg, 16 år, som går i fackskola i Lycksele och Kent Andersson. Och med en utvid fackskolan i Umeå, som argumenterar för en utbyggnad.

— Jag vill stanna här som alla andra bara det finns arbete, säger Kent Andersson. Och med en utbyggnad kommer det ett uppsving. När Vattenfall sätter igång flyttar det hit folk och med dem kommer industrin.

Kent och Åke är vana att tampa med övermakten och de brukar få vänta under de flestämiga mötningen innan de kan ge igen.

• Blåögt

— Det vet du väl, Kent, vad dom säger åt välbildade norrlänningar på arbetsförmedlingen: "Stockholm och Västerås behöver...". Och det är blåögt att tro...

Kent: — Det är det inte! Vi själva kan få jobb i utbyggnaden och de flera hundra människor som kommer hit behöver service.

Erik Bågfors, 24 år, affärsbiträde:

— Service ja — det blir ett uppsving på en åtta—tio år. Men vi skall ha arbete sen med, och det är blåögt att tro att älven skulle få hit några industrier. De pengar det kostar att bygga ut skulle man väl kunna satsa på en ny industri och låta älven vara ifred.

— Ja — och tänk på att nu är Vindelälven känd i hela Sverige. Om bara kommunen ville utnyttja

detta kunde vi få hit mycket turister.

En nagel i ögat på ungdomarna är den i deras tycke dåliga turistinformationen kring Vindelälven:

— Var enstjärniga campingplats fick föra sommaren avvisa 17 turister. Och det har aldrig hänt tidigare att man haft fullt.

— Och det finns bara två broschyrer.

Kent:

— Om dom bygger ut får vi ju en bättre väg utefter älven för turisterna.

— Vem sjutton vill åka och titta på en massa kraftverk!...

• Generationsklyfta

Under diskussionen riktar ofta spetsen mot de äldre Ämneborna:

— Här går en generationsklyfta, säger Allan Andersson. De äldre har ju mycket att vinna på exploateringen av älven. Men nu gäller det först och främst vi unga och vi vill ha en tryggad sysselsättning för all framtid. Vi vill ju så gärna stanna här vid älven...

Katrin Karlsson, 18 år och gäst i fackskolan i Umeå:

— Pappa är för en reglering, men han respekterar helt mitt ställningstagande.

• Motarbetas

Några andra av ungdomarna säger sig ha märkt att en del äldre motarbetar dom och går bakom deras rygg.

Gertrud Lundmark, 20 år, gäst på yrkesskolan i Umeå:

Fig. 5.10 News feature from Svenska Dagbladet highlighting the intergenerational aspects of preserving the river intact. (22-01-1970:5)

This re-frames the employment question as a long-term undertaking, developing a vision that looks beyond the short-term problems of the area and seeks to bring about a temporal shift in the scale of the debate from a decade to historical and generational timeframes.

Other frames

There is a range of other ethos frames which feature less explicitly in the corpus but are still of importance, or in some cases where they might be considered subsets of the frames discussed above. These include nationalism and community (in particular the idea of landscape as a national asset in opposition to the national importance of economy), and an underlying notion of safety and security, both economic and in terms of energy. Most of these lesser features can justifiably be mentioned as part of the more dominant frame sets mentioned above. As is later discussed in relation to the role alternative vision for road construction and energy development, there also occur apparently paradoxical identities, and it worth noting that the large majority of press coverage appeared in the liberal and conservative press. The overlap of different characteristics thus creates a more diverse series of identities in which there nevertheless exist a traceable series of common textual characteristics and moral identities, working within existing traditions to transform them.

5.11 Summary

Looking at the different arguments being put across in the Vindel debate, it becomes apparent that a mission and campaign to save wilderness, even if that were its driving factor, was argued quite differently in the public space. It is also notable that, given that the textual survey covered all mentions of the project, a hugely overwhelming majority of the articles studied showed a distinct anti-hydro position irrespective of author or the media outlet in which they were published. This uniformity of opposition did not though entail a uniformity of instrumental values in seeking to oppose development.

Furthermore, several of the most pervasive textual identities transcend media outlets, not least the ethos frames of democracy and information provision/being informed. In addition, there arise important questions as to the very function of the debate itself, with a particular eye on the way it featured in the conservative-leaning press. These can be best summarised under the following headings.

Narratives of agency

In a debate which so explicitly involved power to finance or block the project at stake, the establishment of agents is extremely important, along with the creation of the supposed power structures in which they operate. This is linked closely to the democratic ethos of many of the texts and the conflict between people or politicians as the primary agents of change and action.

Relationships are established whereby power is manifested by central government, and not by the region or community, leading into portrayals of the region as impotent in power and influence. As a consequence, the region itself cannot make a decision but must seek through means other than parliamentary democracy to change the will of centralised power. There are very few texts in which the local populace, who if the media portrayals are to be believed are largely opposed to the development of the Vindel, are shown to have legitimate power in their decision making.

In addition, even the anti-hydro voices adapt themselves to a framework of being passively given things by government, reinforced by such features as calls for the government to declare the site a national park or the invocation of centrally administered government agencies as a means of providing decisive information in the resolution of a geopolitically peripheral issue.

There are also a larger number of different voices than might be expected. Vindelådalens Aktionsgrupp for example, nominally the primary opponent of the scheme, plays only a partial role in discussion of the issue in the media (this is not to say that it was unimportant, nor that it failed to have an effect in other parts of the public debate external to the media). Neither are there a great number of overtly political voices present in the debate. The viewpoints of the government are often reported second hand, strengthening the feeling of a disconnection between those in power and the denizens of the Vindel valley.

The granting of agency to specific groups is not, however, the same as the creation of moral agency. Although the communities presented are capable of making ecologically informed decisions, they remain passive in terms of the processes of power, exposing the shortcomings noted by Gare in the ultimate relationship between individual environmental traditions and power.

Construction of region and place

Given that one of the dominant features of the corpus is the opposition to centralised power structure, by necessity there are various attempts to construct the region as an oppositional force. Emphasis is for example often placed on the then recently-founded university in Umeå and the implications this has for the Vindel as a local resource.

The establishment of community takes various forms, exemplified in texts such as '*Ortsbefolkning för Vindelälven*' which establishes a clear link between space and place in resisting the development of the river. This same community creation is evident again in phrases such as 'Now young people like us with a future intimately tied to the river', or the pastoralist presentation of community with the rhetorical question 'Do you think a power station would fit in here?' (*cf.* Fig. 5.11)

This contradicts the idea of wilderness preservation and empty space, rearticulating the issue as being less about protecting nature and more about people, which further aids the shift from a discussion of whether nature should be protected to a best course for the local population. This also mirror's Jon Moen's assertion regarding the transformation of landscape heritage into cultural space.²⁷

²⁷ *Cf.* p62

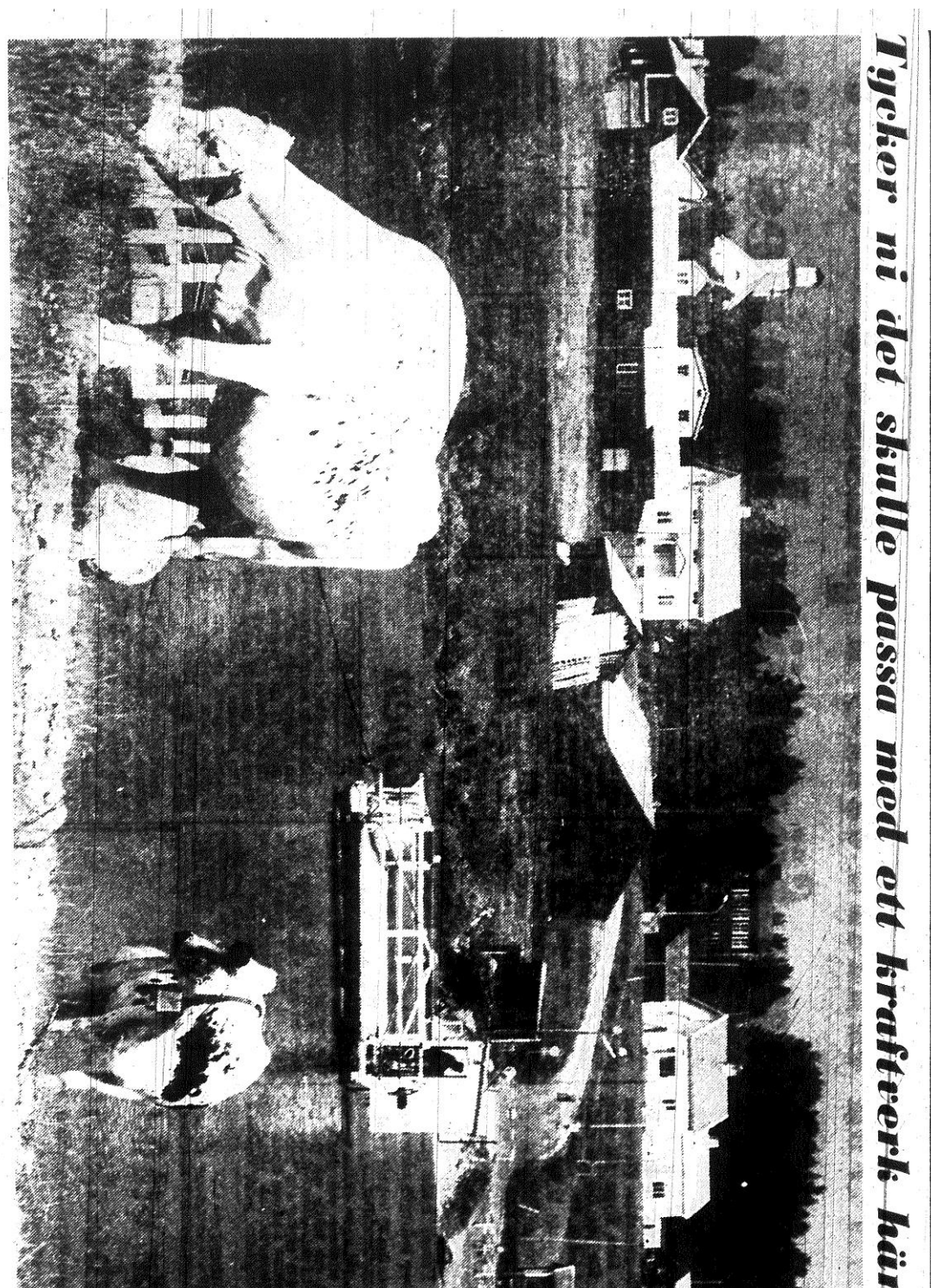


Fig. 5.11 *Aftonbladet* news feature adopting pastoralist, rather than wilderness, approach to the Vindel valley in placemaking, ascribing value to community over wilderness (06-02-1970:19)

The relegation of conservation

One of the more interesting aspects of the arguments used is the relative unimportance of conservation relative to the dominant ethos frames of democracy and the new information discourses. Despite the debate being an apparently perfect opportunity to implement traditional conservationist arguments of natural beauty, these are largely absent. They are instead replaced by a more scientific approach to landscape as a natural resource (in some ways reflecting the modern trend toward ‘ecosystem Services’) and the idea that scientific advice is the foundation for the retention of wilderness, which then feeds back into the dominant new information discourse and ideas of scientific, as opposed to aesthetic uniqueness.

This can partly be seen as a response to the technocratic economism which seemed to dominate the pro-development arguments, not least in light of Olof Palme’s original statement that the reasons for expansion were based on the need to create employment and industry. Given that Palme and the Social Democrats were by far the dominant social and political force, they were not in a position to be challenged using the traditional conservation arguments which were prevalent in opposition groups such as the Centre party.

5.12 Reading the debate

The eventual success of the Vindel campaign cannot be seen purely as a result of the arguments put across in the media, but reading the debate it becomes evident that it was far from a simple question of an ethical preference for conservation by activists and the government, even if the initial motivations of prominent opponents were based firmly on environmentalist traditions of landscape preservation.

The Vindel conflict involved the creation of new kinds of environmental knowledge which could be more easily integrated with the existing priorities of the region, in many cases breaking down the oppositional dichotomy of conservation vs development. This happened largely in the challenging of the hard evidence presented by the project’s supporters with new types of information, establishing and recognising the position of objective information and scientific advice as important components of the discussion within an overwhelmingly rational climate.

As is subsequently discussed in the concluding chapter, it is possible to discuss the stated aims of the government and Vattenfall in terms of more general societal goods, and there is very little effort on the part of contrary voices to tackle the aims of the project. Instead they seek to rearticulate these aims in the context of alternative visions and the production of new knowledge, often scientific or economic, in order to undermine the case for development.

Ironically, the spectre of alternative technologies would resurface a decade later in the form of the nuclear power debate when nuclear energy was made a pariah and hydro-electricity was once again seen as a natural and desirable option for environmentalists. It was, however, this emphasis on alternative paths which secured the aims of the hydro-electric planners with fewer negatives which were crucial in forming the public discussion of the issue, both in terms of how it was reported and how voices with a clearer agenda chose to speak in the public space.

Moreover, the clear instance of power being exercised through argument and not through direct democracy or benign government illustrate the complexities of what is often portrayed as a debate between conservationists and developers. This moves the discussion beyond ideas of environmental ethics to focus on the division but also the commonality of the public arena. Narrative constructions of region, of environmental goods and the temporary values applied to structures and groupings illustrates an efficacy unfounded in a traditional understanding of environmental and wilderness placemaking. Crucial is the fact that, where this commonality existed, it was around the idea of development, employment and democracy rather than environmentalism, but that this did not entail the environmental agenda becoming impotent. On the contrary it gave it an upper hand to environmental ends but did not require a moral agency based on 'green' precepts and goods, nor argumentative strategies based on environmentalist world views.

6. The Swedish referendum on nuclear power

6.1 Introduction

Sweden is unique in being one of the few countries in the world to ever hold a referendum on energy policy, taking place on the 23rd March 1980. Whilst there have been incidences of political parties being elected on anti-nuclear tickets elsewhere, Sweden remains alone even amongst the mature democracies of the Scandinavian countries in having offered the public a say in the future development of the nation's energy policy.

The reasons of this having taken place were complex, and the nuclear issue has played out differently across the Nordic region. Sweden for instance currently occupies a middle-ground of limited nuclear development between the renewable-heavy markets of its western neighbours and a relative enthusiasm for nuclear in geographically comparable Finland, with power generation by 2004 divided approximately between nuclear (50 per cent), hydropower (40 per cent) and fossil or other renewables (ten per cent) (Wiwen-Nilsson 2006). This comparison is in itself illustrative of the apparent paradox of 'The Nordic Way' discussed in the introductory chapter as a uniform ethic, where the different resources and energy needs of the various Nordic states have led to different approaches to energy policy. Despite people being given a say in the energy question, the current ambivalent Swedish nuclear policy suggests that the outcome of the energy referendum had a less than direct impact on the future of Sweden's energy politics - Denmark for example had already overtaken Sweden in the production of non-fossil and non-nuclear energy at a very early stage, and by the end of the 1970s the Danish anti-nuclear movement had more or less guaranteed the end of the Danish nuclear story (Petersen 1996). By 1985 the Danish Parliament had discounted nuclear energy entirely and had put significant renewables schemes in place from the start of the decade (de Lovinfosse 2008: 123, 124). Furthermore, as Eyerman et al. (1990: 97) note, Denmark's anti nuclear movement took place against the backdrop of no extant nuclear stations whilst Sweden already had a significant and viable nuclear sector by the time the energy referendum was called in the autumn of 1979.

At the time of writing Sweden still operates four nuclear sites, though it does have a relatively de-carbonised energy market compared to some of its neighbours and produces significant amounts of energy from water and biofuels alongside its nuclear capacity (Naturvårdsverket 2014). As part of the most recent coalition agreement in Sweden, the government has agreed to the phase out of some of the reactors whose fate was the subject of the nuclear referendum, including the oldest operational reactor in Oskarshamn, but nuclear power remains a controversial topic in the country.

This chapter begins by outlining the historical background to the anti-nuclear movement in Sweden and its politicisation through the election of a coalition government in September 1979 whose Prime Minister, the Centre leader Thorbjörn Fälldin, had made great political capital out of opposition to nuclear energy in previous elections. It addresses the not-always unproblematic friction between Sweden's technological ambitions and the attitudes of its population, giving an account of civil and military nuclear development and opposition.

Using the same TODA-based analytical model as the previous chapter, it then looks at two specifically political examples of nuclear debate through analyses of simultaneously published opinion articles by Fälldin and Social Democratic leader Olof Palme, then leader of the opposition in the Swedish parliament, stressing the role played by political identity and explaining how politicians attempted to align the debate with their own projects. This is followed by analyses of campaign advertising from the three official groupings in the nuclear referendum and a discussion of both their immediate strategies and how they relate to the debate at large, including their need to articulate alternative visions of modernity with relation to concepts of risk and security.

Lastly, a comparison is made of the most dominant textual frames in the material studied and an explanation given of the particular incidence of characteristics of scientific objectivity in the context of new information discourses, alternative and future visions and the relationship between risk, security and economic responsibility. This is concluded by a consideration of the manner in which the anti-nuclear movement related to and transformed extant social narratives and their after effects, as well as how nuclear opposition developed into a form of discursive practice and the implications that the

practice of the referendum has had on Swedish environmental politics in the years since. Ultimately it argues that the nuclear referendum in Sweden can be viewed as a competition for control of a specific set of social values and not as a manifestation of mass environmentalism against industrial society, and that the specific strategies of argument pursued by politicians and campaigners were heavily reliant on the temporary creation of specific narrative frames.

Although it touches on the political dynamics of the nuclear referendum, this case study does not attempt to give a comprehensive account of the entirety of what is a phenomenally complex period in Swedish political and environmental history. Focus is placed primarily on the discursive and rhetorical aspects of the public debate in line with the general methodology of this study.

6.2 Historical background

The referendum on nuclear energy is of interest not so much in terms of its immediate outcome but with regard to how it facilitated the discussion of the environment in the national public space, and the manner in which it combined environmental concerns with a larger narrative about the future direction of society in a number of areas.

Sweden's nuclear journey had been slightly different from many other nations, pursuing an independent civil nuclear program using domestic technology until the 1970s, initially in tandem with a nuclear weapons program (Fjaestad & Jonter 2010:156). As such the nuclear scheme was able to present itself as a symbol of Swedish ingenuity and engineering success, and in 1956 the Social Democratic government of the time presented an energy bill to parliament which envisioned nuclear energy as part of the energy mix to sustain Swedish industrial and economic progress. Development then continued through the next three decades with Sweden establishing itself as something of a nuclear pioneer. By the tail end of the 1970s there were four operating nuclear stations in Sweden with plans to bring online extra reactors at the sites in question. These were at Barsebäck and Ringhals on the south-west coast, Oskarshamn on the southern Baltic coast and Forsmark on the coast north of Stockholm. These reactors were of a more internationally standardised lightwater type, with Oskarshamn coming online in 1972 (Fjaestad & Jonter:71) Sweden also had access to uranium domestically and was able to plan a relatively autarkic energy policy in line with its nominal neutrality,

though home-grown designs were eventually entirely abandoned in favour of the lightwater reactors using cheaper international sourced uranium.

This had happened despite some opposition to the nuclear program, but with the oil crisis of the 1970s nuclear increasingly appeared an obvious solution. Nuclear energy had indeed been one of the arguments used to justify the redundancy of hydro-electric expansion earlier in the decade.²⁸ The plans for such a sizeable shift to nuclear energy were, however, always likely to cause opposition at some point, and it was the Centre party which took on the mantle of representing the cause in the Swedish parliament and, at various points, in government as well. Politically, the Centre party stem from the Nordic agrarian tradition, fusing elements of anti-statism, rural liberalism and a concern for the conditions of rural people. Thorbjörn Fälldin, Centre Prime Minister in Centre/Liberal/Moderate coalition governments from 1976 to 1978 and the crucial period of 1979 to 1982, himself came from a rural area and placed emphasis on the importance of rural people, aligned with an agrarian environmentalism which relied heavily on traditional forms of environmental knowledge. At the same time, however, the Centre Party youth wing in particular found itself taking on a kind of temporary moral identity, assuming for a period a role which laid claim to both the traditional and the modern in a temporal unity of alternative utopianism and agrarian tradition (Holmberg 1998: 23). The Centre Party's electoral performance during its 1970s zenith can be attributed in part to a kind of popular ecologism (Roßegger, Ramin 2013: 327), viewed in the context of a period of relatively minor electoral questions in which the gaps between political camps were smaller than had otherwise been the case in terms of policy previously after the economic and social reforms of the immediate postwar period.

Opposition to nuclear energy also came from the socialist-left, with the philosopher and Social-Democratic economist Gunnar Myrdal²⁹ saying of the issue immediately before the referendum that 'It is totally unacceptable that the governments of the industrialised countries – and this includes Sweden – should go on sacrificing both long and medium

²⁸ cf. Ch.4 Analysis 4

²⁹ Both Alva Myrdal and her spouse Gunnar Myrdal were influential figures during the years when Swedish Social Democracy established and asserted its political dominance in the middle of the 20th century.

term interest for the short term interest of keeping up employment in this or that armament industry, reprocessing or reactor industry' (Myrdal 1980: xii).

The scientific community too had begun to break consensus on the nuclear issue. Prominent physicists such as the Nobel prize winner Hannes Alfvén and Sten Lindeberg had been publicly critical of both the measures in place for dealing with nuclear waste and the scientific findings of the government itself (Anshelm & Galis 2011:407), leading to the creation of rival scientific narratives as trustworthy as established ones. Alfvén for example authored a series of articles on the scientific risks of nuclear energy based in his own work, asserting that 'it is important that we have a debate which makes clear questions and establishes whether the current political route is going to create a society in which we can live.' (Alfvén 1974: 85)

The hint of a referendum was also seen by some as a ploy to keep the Social Democrats from power by the non-socialist parties (Little 1982:4). At the same time, there was a view that Sweden had already solved the problem of nuclear waste storage and disposal (Little:4) and attempts were made to play down the environmental dangers of nuclear energy during both its production and storage phases. The circumstances in which the referendum came about were thus the result of political machination; although nuclear power had featured prominently in the 1979 election campaign it did not lead to any gains for the Centre . Nevertheless, and despite a significant reduction in representation, Thorbjörn Fälldin still became Prime Minister for the second time in the autumn of 1979 at the head of a Centre/Liberal/Conservative coalition. A condition of the coalition agreement was a referendum on the nuclear question, but as a result of both a split government and divided opposition, a cross party bill on the referendum was negotiated which resulted in the creation of three options or 'lines' for nuclear energy.

Line 1, backed by the Moderate party, proposed using all nuclear reactors operational, planned or under construction until such a time as alternatives became available. Line 2, supported officially by the Social Democratic Party and the Liberal Party (including Hans Blix, who would later gain notoriety as head of the International Atomic Energy Authority and as a United Nations weapons inspector), proposed the same energy policy but with different ownership models in which the state was fully in control. Line 3,

supported by the Centre Party and The Left (Communist) party proposed a ten year timescale for nuclear decommissioning and no new nuclear projects, including ones already begun. It also proposed a ban on uranium mining within Sweden. The vote took place on the 23rd March 1980, with an extremely narrow victory for Line 2 over Line 3. The exact results were:

Röstberättigade/Eligible to vote: 6 321 165

Andel som deltog/Turnout: 75,7%

Alternativ 1/Line 1: 18,9%

Alternativ 2/ Line 2: 39,1%

Alternativ 3/ Line 3: 38,7%

Blanka/ Blank: 3,3%

Ogiltiga/Invalid: 3 153

(Nordhaus 1997:35)

The result was not, however, legally binding, with the nuclear issue still remaining largely unresolved despite figuring prominently in the Swedish popular consciousness (Jamison 1990:53-54)

6.3 The textual corpus

The textual corpus of this case study consists of articles from the same four newspapers as previously outlined, though with a far larger sample size due to the overwhelming quantity of print copy produced in relation to the referendum. All of the texts discussed in this chapter are taken from the six month period immediately preceding the referendum from the 23rd September 1979 to the 22nd March 1980. The nuclear referendum is notable in comparison to the preceding and following case study for the use of both advertising within the media as part of the campaign and for the interdiscursivity which is evident within the large body of available articles, not least the relationship between nuclear energy and the cold war. As is subsequently discussed, the character of the debate transcends attempts at classification within finite areas, appearing in all sections of the newspapers surveyed and manifesting itself in questions of economy, culture, current affairs, sport and entertainment.

The result of such a complex referendum process was a campaign in which politicians were forced to engage with the nuclear question in new and unorthodox ways, including meeting the narrative challenge of the emboldened anti-nuclear movement but at the same time seeking to preserve their own political projects. This is exemplified in the close textual analyses below, looking firstly at examples of direct political address and latterly at the different identities adopted by each of the official campaigns in the advertising placed in newspapers. The full quantitative data from the nuclear corpus is discussed later in the chapter, along with a more developed discussion of the multiple textual identities established across the broad spectrum of texts surveyed.

6.4 Analyses 1 & 2 : Political identity

Here are presented two opinion pieces, reproduced in their entirety, by Centre Party Prime Minister Thorbjörn Fälldin and Olof Palme, Social Democratic leader of the opposition. They were published together in the left-wing newspaper *Aftonbladet* on the 20th of March 1980, three days before the referendum on nuclear energy in Sweden³⁰.

They are used here primarily because they are authored by two of the debate's leading ideologues and arbiters of power, but also because by being presented in tandem they explicitly interact with one another within a more complex interdiscursive context (*cf.* Fig. 1), explicitly illustrating an interactional ethos. They seek to exploit extant narratives and form new political identities around ideas of general values, group consensus and societal risk, marrying political traditions with referendum choices. At the same time, however, both attempts at engagement contain specific nuances unique to the political, and in the case of Fälldin existential, projects of the authors. Both authors also exhibit a preparedness to instrumentalise and appropriate the same concepts in terms of their overall argument.

Olof Palme and Social Democratic determinism

The first text, by Palme, is an example of Social Democratic determinism, appearing under the title 'We want to keep the dreams alive' in reference to the aspirations of the party and society.

Published in a newspaper with an allegiance to the social-democratic movement, the placing of the article by Palme is not that surprising. Illuminatingly, the piece appeared

³⁰ Appendix II, texts 172 & 173

above the contribution from the then Prime Minister, so that whilst the two men are apparently presented in tandem, both the interaction between texts and reader and between the texts themselves is heavily moderated. The reader is presented with a straight choice between two symbolic figures, answering questions which they themselves have chosen to raise.

Palme does two things of note in order to make contact with readers. The first is to establish himself as a voice worth listening to by asserting, 'Many years of working on societal issues have taught me a few basic lessons.' From the outset it is apparent that Palme will not be attempting to deal with the nuclear issue directly, but what he does do is set himself up as a legitimate speaker on the wider issue of social problems. The second is to develop a textual 'we', in which he speaks with instead of against the reader under the assumption that they are sympathetic to the Social Democratic movement.

Palme's contribution to the debate does not take up the nuclear issue immediately. It builds a concept of what the social-democratic movement is in terms of both its constituent members and the role it plays in society, making reference to the idea that every single positive social development requires and is the result of the social-democratic movement. The movement thus becomes concrete, inescapable and infallible.

This conception is then applied to the nuclear debate and the position taken by Palme and the Social Democrats. The social-democratic movement has thus 'decided' that a transition to renewable energy is desirable, and that this transition will happen on a timetable dictated by the movement. This gives the impression that the social democratic movement is in control of the situation, and that the decision has been proactive rather than reactive, asserting, 'The labour movement has determined that it is sensible and wise for long term societal development to pursue such a path.'




3 DAGAR KVAR



Signerat: Olof Palme

Många är oroliga med samhällsfrågor har lärt mig vissa grundläggande ting. Tjänst grundläggande positiv samhällsfrågning i Sverige kräver medvetenhet av den demokratiska arbetarrörelsen. Därmed avser jag något mycket konkret: folket ute på arbetsplatserna, i bodarna på byggarbetsplatserna, de fackliga förbundsområden runt om i landet måste ställa upp för det.

Vidare den demokratiska arbetarrörelsen blir aldrig ett enpartiparti. Vi väger olika reformer och förändringar mot varandra, räknar ut kostnader, tar så ansvaret ställning och driver sedan beslutet. Arbetarrörelsen låter sig inte tappa förtroendet genom en påhoppad upplammande entusiasm i någon led. "Gröndags" skäller en del. Fasthåll och svarar säger andra.

Låt oss mot den bakgrunden se på energipolitiken.

Motståndarna till kärnkraften har vunnit en stor framgång. Den demokratiska arbetarrörelsen har beslutat sig för att avveckla kärnkraften och ersätta den med förnybara energikällor och har lagt ner stor möda på att utarbeta en realistisk plan för avveckling. Därmed skapas förutsättningar för den betydande samhällsförändring som ett byte av energisystem innebär. Arbetarrörelsen har funnit att det för den långsiktiga samhällsvecklingen är klokt och förnuftigt att följa den vägen. Det betyder att man tagit intryck av de vinster och värderingar som fört fram från kärnkraftsmotståndarnas sida.

Samtidigt upplever jag hur misstron växer i våra led mot tanken att avveckla kärnkraften på tio år. Det går inte att förneka att detta skulle innebära en viktig kapitalförstärkning och stora ekonomiska upprättningar. När Linje 3a ledning förnekar detta växer misstron.

Två av de tio åren inte utgår från några egentliga beräkningar. De bygger på några flygna ord av Fälldin för några år sedan. Sätt skall ju inte vara bestämmande för socialdemokrater.

Vi kan se att Linje 3 väntat sig helt oförmögen att prestera en plan världsnämnar för hur avvecklingen ska gå till. De vägar helt enkelt inte redovisa konsekvenserna.

Vi vill hålla drömmarna levande

Vi har hört Fälldin gång på gång säga att en borgerlig trepartiregering, där ju moderaterna är starkaste parti, är bäst lämpad att genomföra snabba utvecklingen av kärnkraften. Ur fördelningspunkt är detta djupt orosande. Det betyder att de svagaste fingre bära de tyngsta bördorna.

Viktigast av allt: vi socialdemokrater vill fortsätta vårt samhällsbygge på många andra områden: barnomsorgen, värdet av de äldre, kampen mot den sociala utslutningen, arbetsmarknadsförbättringen i de lågavlönades ställning och mycket, mycket annat. Så mycket vet vi skall vi under 80-talet rida upp de väldiga skulder till utlandet och underskott i statsbudgeten som de borgerliga dragit på oss och dessutom snabbavveckla kärnkraften blir det väldiga pårestningsskatt. Då kommer många drömmar att stöta i det svenska samhällsbygget.

Socialdemokratin kan aldrig bli något enfrångeparti. Vi vill ersätta kärnkraften med förnybara energikällor. Men det får inte ske i sådan takt att vi förlorar vår ekonomi och undergräver reformarbetet. Vi vill hålla drömmarna levande i samhällsbygget.

Därför är det för socialdemokratin väldigt viktigt att Linje 3 vinner i folkomröstningen.

Olof Palme

Signerat: Thorbjörn Fälldin

Att folket självt får möjlighet att ta ställning i fråga om val av energikälla för framtiden är något nytt. När vi står för steg fördes in i den energisituation där vi i dag är beroende av olja till 70 procent av vår totala energiförbrukning, så skedde det stora diskussioner.

Välgen av i kärnkraftsberoendet hjälpte på samma sätt som val av kärnkraftens, praxis och regler. I såväl härda vi så mycket mer om den stora, stora och billiga kärnkraften. Inget fick oss. Atomkraften, som den från början betes, ändrades snabbt till kärnkraft. Atomkraft kunde bli kopplas samman med atomkraft. Det var en annan. Kärnkraft till både kärnkraft, kärnkraft och kärnkraft.

Riksdagen med det radioaktiva avfallet tog man också lär på sig i ett regeringsförslag från 1956 byggd på en utredning ges följande beskrivning av det radioaktiva avfallets problem:

"De stora mängder radioaktiva ämnen, som finns i avfallet, har ännu ej fått större praktisk användning. Närmast till hands ligger att använda den radioaktiva strålningen för konservering av livsmedel (min kursivering). En annan möjlighet är att utnyttja ämnens strålning inom den kemiska industrin, tex för framställning av speciella plastor."

Det var då det när vi den här gången står inför ett val av energikälla, sker det efter en omfattande debatt. Knappt har någon enskild politisk fråga diskuterats så mycket och så djupt engagerat så många människor som just frågan om vår framtida energipolitik.

Kärnkraften är förenad med särskilda risker. Numera är alla väl medvetna om detta.

Det finns många fakta att redovisa om kärnkraftens farlighet och risker. När jag och andra redovisar fakta som ställs mot möjligheter och utredningar tagit fram så beaktas vi för skrämselpropaganda. Många kärnkraftsanshängare vill vi skall förtaga dessa fakta därför att de är skrämmande."

Plutonium är ett av de giftigaste ämnen vi känner till. Det är ett nytt grundämne. Det

Ska vi hålla tyst om otäckta fakta?

fanns inte i den värld och den natur vi människorna fått i arv och har ansvaret att värda. Plutonium är en skapelse av människan. En kvarts miljon gram av detta ämne i lungan – det är så lite så man inte ser det – men det är tillräckligt för att döda en människa. Och dess giftighet varar i årtusenden. Det tar 24 000 år innan giftigheten i plutonium 239 har minskat till hälften.

24 000 år! Perspektivet är ofattbart. Det är idag inte ens 2 000 år från vår tidsräkningens början.

Kärnkraftens avfall har med sig många olika giftor. Det är detta avfall som vi på ett eller annat sätt måste förvara och göra det på ett sätt så att det hålls avskilt från allt levande under en tidsspann som vi inte kan fatta. Om Linje 1 och Linje 2 vinner kommer detta avfall att tio-dubblas.

I regeringsdeklarationen sägs att om det blir ett ja till kärnkraft, dvs att linjerna ett och två vinner, då har svenska folket också accepterat den grad av säkerhet för skrämselpolitik av kärnkraftsavfall som den tidigare folktopparet regeringen godkände. Den säkerhetsnivån ligger då till grund för bedömningsförmåga för nya reaktorer. Sju av åtta geologer underkände denna metod.

För Din egen och Din barns och barnbarns skull – välj Linje 3!

Thorbjörn Fälldin

Fig 6.1. The articles as they originally appeared next to one another in *Aftonbladet*. The prominence afforded to Palme over Fälldin is clear. (20-03-1980:3)

Analysis 6.1

Vi vill hålla drömmarna levande

Många års arbete med samhällsfrågor har lärt mig vissa grundläggande ting

Varje grundläggande positiv samhällsförändring i Sverige kräver medverkan av den demokratiska arbetarrörelsen. Därmed avser jag något mycket konkret: folket ute på verkstadsgolvet, i bodarna på byggarbetsplatserna, de fackliga förtroendemännen runt om i landet måste ställa upp för det.

Vidare den demokratiska arbetarrörelsen blir aldrig ett enfrågeparti. Vi väger olika förändringar och reformer mot varandra, räknar ut kostnader, tar så småningom ställning och driver sedan beslutsamt. Arbetarrörelsen låter sig inte tappa fotfästet genom en plötsligt uppflammande entusiasm i någon fråga.”Gråsossar” skäller en del. Fasthet och ansvar säger andra.

Låt oss mot den bakgrunden se på energipolitiken.

Motståndarna till kärnkraften har vunnit en stor framgång. Den demokratiska arbetarrörelsen har beslutat sig för att avveckla kärnkraften och ersätta den med förnybara energikällor och har lagt ner stor möda på att utarbeta en realistisk plan för avveckling. Därmed skapas förutsättningar för den betydande samhällsförändring som ett byte av energisystem innebär. Arbetarrörelsen har funnit att det för den långsiktiga samhällsutvecklingen är klokt och förnuftigt att följa den vägen. Det betyder att man tagit intryck av de känslor och värderingar som förts fram från kärnkraftsmotståndarnas sida

Samtidigt upplever jag hur misstron växer i våra led mot tanken att avveckla kärnkraften på tio år. Det går inte att förneka att detta skulle innebära en väldig kapitalförstöring och stora ekonomiska uppoffringar. När linje 3:s ledning förnekar detta växer snarast misstron.

Ty vi vet att de tio åren inte utgår från några egentliga beräkningar. De bygger på några förflugna ord av Fälldin för några år sedan. Sånt skall ju inte vara bestämmande för socialdemokrater.

Vi kan se att linje 3 visat sig helt oförmögen att presentera en plan värd namnet för hur avvecklingen ska gå till. De vågar helt enklet inte redovisa konsekvenserna.

Vi har hört Fälldin gång på gång säga att en borgerlig trepartiregering, där ju Moderaterna är starkaste parti, är bäst lämpad att genomföra snabbavvecklingen av kärnkraften. Ur fördelningssynpunkt är detta djupt oroande. Det betyder att de svagaste finge bära de tyngsta bördorna.

Viktigast av allt: Vi socialdemokrater vill fortsätta vårt samhällsbygge på många andra områden: barnomsorgen, vården av de äldre, kampen mot den sociala utslagningen, sextimmarsdag, förbättringar i den lågavlönades ställning och mycket mycket annat. Så mycket vet vi: skall vi under 80-talet reda upp de väldiga skulder till utlandet och underskott i statsbudgeten som de borgerliga dragit på oss och dessutom snabbavveckla kärnkraften blir det väldiga påfrestningar. Då kommer många drömmar att slockna i det svenska samhällsbyggandet.

Socialdemokratin kan aldrig bli något enfrågeparti. Vi vill ersätta kärnkraften med förnybara energikällor. Men det får inte ske i sådan takt att vi förstör vår ekonomi och undergräver reformarbetet. Vi vill hålla drömmarna levande i samhällsomdaningen

Därför är det för socialdemokratin väldigt viktigt att linje 2 segrar i folkomröstningen.

(Aftonbladet 20-03-1980:20)

The effect of this is that the relatively canonical concept of the workers movement is used to justify the decision to continue using nuclear energy in the medium term. The logical progression brought about by this collocation is that the workers' movement represents ordinary people, that the ordinary people who constitute it have voted to continue utilising nuclear energy for the time being, and that by extension line 2 in the referendum represents the settled will of the population.

There is also a notable collocation between line 3 and Liberal - Conservative government, despite significant sections of the Social Democrats and the then-Communist party (now the Swedish Left Party) also supporting the immediate decommissioning of nuclear energy. The sentence 'Because we know that those ten years are not based on any real calculations. They are dependent on some careless words spoken by Fälldin several years go. Such things should not determine how we act as Social Democrats.' links the plans of line 3 directly to the liberal Prime Minister and the Centre's competence as a government. The net effect is to remove Palme from the picture and place Fälldin centre stage for criticism.

As mentioned in the discussion of politeness strategies, Palme's opinion on the nuclear issue makes agents of the workers' movement and a relatively undefined 'we'. Not until the fourth paragraph does he introduce himself as an agent, and only then as anecdotal evidence of what others are thinking and doing. The following passage is particularly notable:

Most importantly of all: We Social Democrats wish to continue building society in many other areas: Childcare, healthcare, elderly care, the fight against social exclusion, a six hour working day, improvements for low paid workers and much, much more. This much we know: if we are to tackle the huge foreign debts and budget deficits we have been saddled with by the bourgeoisie parties in the 1980s and decommission nuclear energy quickly there will be great hardships. That would mean that many dreams would be extinguished in the building of a Swedish society.

'We Social Democrats' becomes the primary agent, continuing the good work already done in a number of relatively vague and uncontroversial areas. There is then a process whereby the inclusive community of the social democrats is knowledgeable as to the realities of undoing the damage done by the liberal government – the same government in which the Prime Minister wishes to get rid of nuclear energy. The effect is the

impression that the Liberal coalition have not just made life in the country difficult, but that they would increase hardship still further.

Thematically speaking, the Palme article has very little to do with the issues which might reasonably be expected to dominate any discussion of the benefits or drawbacks of nuclear energy. Already in the headline it asserts that it wishes to 'keep dreams alive', before introducing the concept of social challenges and experience, a broader political project, 'energy politics', opposition to nuclear power, personal experience, three consecutive clauses questioning the viability of his opponent, prioritising the social project, and finally the broader political agenda. It willfully refuses to engage in any kind of scientific discussion of the practicalities of the nuclear question.

Palme uses many of the standard terms of the social democratic movement. On several occasions for example it is referred to as 'the democratic labour movement', inferring that it is inherently democratic and representative. Extensive use is also made of variations on the word society, including social questions [*samhällsfrågor*], social change [*samhällsförändring*], building a society [*samhällsbyggandet*], and social reform [*samhällsomdaningen*]. This helps to establish a conceptual link which frames the entire debate as a societal issue in a broad sense.

As mentioned, the use of 'we', sometimes without any further specificity as to who 'we' are, gives the text an inclusive potential. It is also open to a resistant reading, in that 'we' can either function as a means of drawing a reader into the group or of isolating them through the creation of an other of which they do not feel part. The rhetorical gamble taken is that the audience in *Aftonbladet* will recognise themselves as part of the nebulous 'we', that is to say that they buy into the central group metaphor of the article.

The metaphorical basis of the Palme text is a life and death metaphor (which is of particular interest given the fatalistic rhetoric employed by the anti-nuclear camp regarding the future). It is embodied in both the title and penultimate paragraph with slight variation - 'We want to keep our dreams alive' becomes the motivation, and the opponents by default become those who wish to kill this dream. This is not an explicit message - at no point does Palme say that the campaign to decommission nuclear power immediately want to stop this dream - but through the use of the life and death metaphor the net result is such. This is visible in the previously mentioned passage,

‘This much we know... that would mean that many dreams would be extinguished in the building of a Swedish society’. The death of the social dream becomes a certainty if the government is allowed to continue in power and to decommission nuclear energy. The lights will go out, both literally and figuratively.

The overall character of the textual interaction is a complex one. Palme takes on the role of a leader addressing his followers. As the leader of the Social Democrats, writing in a social democratic newspaper, there is a definite tone of authoritative explanation. Palme, and the movement, understand the challenges and problems facing society. Their approach is reasoned, and they refuse to panic. They understand the reservations of the anti-nuclear movement and have taken them on board in their development of a plan to phase out nuclear energy over time. Instead of delegitimising the movement against nuclear power the text seeks to accommodate it and to gain legitimacy for itself through doing so. Paramount however is the idea that the (apparently temporally limited), debate on nuclear energy cannot be allowed to interfere with the larger project. This gives weight to the criticism of Green Party founder and former Liberal Party deputy Per Gahrton that: ‘For most of the old reds the new party [and anti nuclear movement] was simply a temporary technical problem in the well-oiled and effective welfare society they had constructed. (Gahrton 2011:36), a challenge to what Wiklund (2006:284) has described as ‘functionalism with its paternalism, planned rationalism, large scale thinking and narrow materialism’³¹.

The general result is the creation of a textual ethos which is authoritative, forward looking and deterministic. There is a Social-Democratic master narrative behind everything, one which allows Palme to claim credit for the past and aspiration for the future whilst dealing specifically with the political distractions of the present.

Thorbjörn Fälldin and the limits of ecologism

This second article by Thorbjörn Fälldin is somewhat different to the Palme text with which it appeared, but is illustrative of the constraints imposed on Fälldin in his argumentation due to a number of pre determined factors, as is discussed below. It appeared under the title ‘Shall we keep quiet on uncomfortable truths?’

³¹ ‘Funktionalismen med dess paternalism, planmässiga rationalism, storskalighet och snäva materialism’

Analysis 6.2

Thorbjörn Fälldin: Ska vi hålla tyst om otäcka fakta?

Att folket självt får möjlighet att ta ställning i fråga om val av energiväg för framtiden är något nytt. När vi steg för steg fördes in i den energisituation där vi idag är beroende av oljan till 70 procent av vår lokala energiförsörjning, så skedde det utan några diskussioner.

Vägen in i kärnkraftsberoendet började på samma sätt. Det var tyst om kärnkraftens problem och risker. Istället hörde vi så mycket mer om den rena, säkra och billiga kärnkraften. Inget fick oroa. Atomkraften, som den från början hette, ändrades snabbt till kärnkraft. Atomkraften kunde lätt kopplas samman med atombomben. Det var oroande. Kärnkraft lät både friskare, starkare, och säkrare.

Riskerna med det radioaktiva avfallet tog man också lätt på. I ett regeringsförslag från 1956 byggd på en utredning ges följande beskrivning av det radioaktiva avfallets problem.

”De stora mängder radioaktiva ämnen, som finnes i avfallet, har ännu ej fått större praktisk användning. Närmast till hands ligger *att använda den radioaktiva strålningen för konservering av livsmedel* (Min kursivering). En annan möjlighet är att utnyttja ämnens strålning inom den kemiska industrin, t ex för framställning av speciella plaster.

Det var då det! När vi den här gången står inför ett vägval i energifrågan, sker det efter en omfattande debatt. Knappast har någon enskild politisk fråga diskuterats så mycket och så djupt engagerat så många människor som just frågan om vår samtida energipolitik

Kärnkraften är förenad med särskilda risker. Numera är alla väl medvetna om detta.

Det finns många fakta att redovisa om kärnkraftens farlighet och risker. När jag och andra redovisar fakta som statliga myndigheter och utredningar tagit fram så beskyllas vi för skrämselfpropaganda. Menar kärnkraftsanhängarna att vi skall förtiga dessa fakta därför att de är så skrämmande?

Plutonium är ett av de giftigaste ämnen vi känner till. Det är ett nytt grundämne. Det fanns inte i den värld och den natur vi människor fått i arv och har ansvaret att vårda. Plutonium är en skapelse av människan. En kvartsmiljon gram av detta ämne i lungan – det är så lite att man inte ser det – men det är tillräckligt för att döda en människa. Och dess giftighet varar i årtusenden. Det är 24 000 år innan giftigheten i plutonium 239 har minskat till hälften.

24 000 år! Perspektivet är ofattbart. Det är idag inte ens 2000 år från vår tideräkningens början!

Kärnkraftens avfall har med sig många olika gifter. Det är detta avfall som vi på ett eller annat sätt måste förvara och göra det på ett sätt så att det hålls avskilt från allt levande under en tidsrymd som vi inte kan fatta. Om Linje I och Linje II vinner kommer detta avfall att tio-dubblas.

I regeringsdeklarationen sägs att om det blir ett ja til kärnkraft, dvs, att linjerna ett och två vinner, då har svenska folket också accepterad den grad av säkerhet för slutförvaring av kärnkraftsavfall som den tidigare folkpartiregeringen godkänt. Den säkerhetsnivån läggs då till grund till tillstånd för nya reaktorer. Sju av åtta geologer underkände denna metod.

För din egen och dina barns och dina barnbarns skull, välj linje 3!

Thorbjörn Fälldin

(*Aftonbladet* 20-03-1980:20)

The interactional control of the Fälldin piece is broadly similar to that of the Palme argument which it accompanies. It takes the form of an information relay in which the questions (uncertainty around nuclear power) have already been decided, and in which the audience is passive. The idea of balance implicit in the co-presentation of the texts presents them as being in interaction with one another. Given the context of the piece there is nothing unusual about this, but a point of particular interest is the way in which structure impacts on the ability of people to actively engage with political argument.

Fälldin begins with a question: 'Should we keep quiet about uncomfortable truths?' He asks a general question which promotes another question, namely what these uncomfortable truths are. The approach is such that it allows the author to talk to the audience as a medium, not as a lecturer. This is similar to retail practice of offering the public new information in confidence, allowing them to find out about something unmissable as part of a potential new information discourse (*cf.* Myserson & Rydin 1996:21)

Fälldin's debate article is though notable for its incoherency compared to Palme's contribution. It starts with the notion of democratic choice in which the people will, for the first time, have the chance to decide for themselves in the nuclear question. Then it lists the steps by which Sweden has come to rely so heavily on oil and seeks to unify the oil crisis – a recognised problem and one of the main arguments *for* nuclear power – with the process by which nuclear power has become the solution.

Then, in the middle of the article, there appear two sentences in isolation which are presented in a collocational relationship:

Nuclear power is associated with particular risks. We are all now well aware of them.

The idea that nuclear power carries particular risks is highly contestable; indeed it is for that very reason that the entire referendum was taking place. The statement that everybody is now fully aware of those risks links into the idea of a new information discourse. The logical conclusion is that previously made decisions were the result of poor information, and that the new information which everyone has access to gives a more accurate picture. The implication is that such information should lead everybody to the same conclusion, so that those who are not anti-nuclear are being disingenuous.

Yet what it does *not* do is develop textual cohesion throughout. It begins with new information discourse but ends with an intergenerational narrative. It attempts to combine an emotive appeal to a Malthusian concept of a limited natural world with a scientific information discourse.

Looking again at the first sentence of the article, 'That people themselves have the possibility' is important in the context of the debate. In Fälldin's democracy the people are able to decide, but they have been given this power by somebody else. That external agent is the author of the article, whose political party is responsible for negotiating the referendum. People have 'been led' into the current energy crisis. 'We' are 'faced with' [*står inför*] a fork in the road in the energy question. The energy question itself is 'engaging' people, who are then 'discussing' it. The result is a temporal shift in transitivity. Previously people were having things done to them, and now they have been liberated to do things themselves. The past was a time of misinformation and hierarchical decision making, the present one of informed liberation. The future remains open and malleable rather than deterministic and inevitable.

A wide range of themes are introduced (and reintroduced) in the article. It begins by questioning (inviting an answer), followed by asserting democracy, narrative of catastrophe, risk, radioactivity, the past, risk, fact based discourse, poison/toxicity, time/the past, nuclear waste, politics, and finally a call to intergenerational responsibility by calling 'for your own, your children's, and grandchildren's sake, vote for Line III [sic].'

Thematically, the Fälldin text attempts to establish a technological argument combined with a more ingrained theme of avoiding catastrophe. It does not try to construct a political argument or identity and Fälldin does not try to make use of the Centre Party as a vehicle (as opposed to Palme's reiteration of Social-Democratic identity) It is then possible to discern three general themes, namely democracy, information and pollution.

Firstly, it is important to question the intended meaning of 'the people' [*folket*]. Is this the same people as Palme constructs, or is it a different term? Fälldin's use of the collective noun appears to speak to a larger conception of people than Palme's 'people out on the workshop floor, in building-site sheds'. Fälldin is obviously speaking to the

same audience as Palme, but to both his advantage and disadvantage is able to construct a national ‘people’ separate from the social-democratic movement.

There is also a noteworthy use of addiction/reliance [*beroende*], including the phrase ‘reliance on nuclear power’ [*kärnkraftsberoende*]. Bearing in mind that oil dependency [*oljebroende*] had become a factor in the energy crisis and that the negatively loaded term had become something of a stock phrase, it is transformative in that it draws parallels between supposedly diametrically opposed concepts.³²

Time and time again, the text returns to the concept of ‘facts’. This is typified in the following passage:

There are many facts to make known about the dangers and risks of nuclear power. When I and other speak about facts produced by stage agencies and enquiries we are accused of spouting scare-propaganda. Do nuclear sympathisers think we should remain silent about such facts because they are so terrifying?

Facts are thus established as infallible. The word fact becomes evidence of something incontestable, ironic in a debate in which every single assertion has been contested. As Myerson and Rydin (1996:21) note, the information discourse is itself arguable. To provide information is an action, but to establish something as a fact requires a group consensus. Where one side presents ‘facts’, the other labels it as ‘propaganda’.

It is also important that nuclear energy is named in a way which explicitly connects it to nuclear weapons. The term ‘atomic’ changes over time. The atomic bomb has made atomic power unpalatable as a concept, so nuclear power has become the stock phrase to replace it. Fälldin explicitly emphasises this, writing, ‘Atomic energy, as it was called in the beginning, was soon changed to nuclear energy’ The intention is to show that the two terms are one and the same, and to establish them as cognates.

Fälldin also makes use of a biblical/creation metaphor which creates a circular journey from paradise to civilisation and back again, employing a conservative ecologism which rejects key elements of modernity. This is shown explicitly in the passage where Fälldin discusses plutonium.

³² Cf. discussion of oil dependency in geopolitical terms p. 158

Plutonium is one of the most toxic substances we know of. It is a new chemical element. It did not exist as part of the world and nature we have inherited as humans and have a responsibility to care for. Plutonium is a human creation.

This is a familiar metaphor for the environmental movement, of a natural state interrupted by the unnatural projects of man (with deep roots in a rural idyll), and is similar to the deeper ecologism of figures such as Elin Wägner and Hans Palmstierna, particular with the references to the toxic interloper in the Swedish landscape³³. In this metaphor the future is a return to the past, as opposed to one of sustainable technological development or progress. As Anshelm (2000:260) notes, the Centre Party embodied an existential ecologism in many respects, with Fälldin in particular standing on such a platform, yet this deeper green resistance to modernity would vanish in a technocratic discussion around the relative merits and viability of the particular economic and technical strategies available.

The text produces a combination of textual ethos frames, more erratic than in the case of Olof Palme's comparable article. The dominant characteristic is a traditional conservationist ethos of environmentalism which seeks to preserve and in some cases recreate the past, but combined with an ethos of democratic choice and information and enlightenment which places faith in the potential for information to guide moral choice in the achievement of environmental sustainability. The topical discussion of the nominal science of the debate is thus used to frame a democratic ecologism, whereby the information discourses which underpin democracy justify the central conservationist argument, combining various traditions into Fälldin's temporary instrumental textual identity. Fälldin's text is notable for the manner in which it attempts to unify the characteristics of both old and new traditions of environmentalism, though with mixed success.

Summary

Comparing these two appeals to voters on the nuclear issue, there are several salient observations to be made. The most important is perhaps the way in which both Palme and Fälldin construct a democratic ethos. For Palme, democracy exists within the framework of social democracy and is the means by which social change and progress is achieved. For Fälldin on the other hand, democracy functions as a means of regulating

³³ Cf. deep ecologism in Sweden, p13

development. Because the debate is based around a referendum, it is almost inevitable that democracy should play such a large conceptual role, and that ‘democrat’ should become a primary textual identity, at the same time as Palme attempts to subsume the nuclear referendum into a larger (social) democratic project. An interesting result of this is that the democratic nature of the referendum is anti-democratic in the context of the movement as a whole. This means that although *democrat* as a concept becomes one of the doxological features of the debate, it is a contested democracy. This phenomenon is also visible in the road debate discussed in the following chapter, which itself references the nuclear referendum as an example of the failure of tokenistic democratic referenda.³⁴

Secondly, there is a clear division between society and humanity. Society is a clear construct which is developed and changed by politicians, whilst humanity is more fundamental and universal. For this reason it makes sense that Palme should engineer the nuclear debate as part of a political (i.e. a social) project, whilst Fälldin creates a more generalist argument based on basic human values. Fälldin, who is the ‘environmental’ voice in the debate³⁵, thus approaches from a fairly conventional environmentalist angle, presenting nuclear power as an environmental and health risk which goes against the natural order. The decisive factor in the conflict between the two politicians is whether or not the social-democratic dream is stronger than the notion of natural laws. Given the context and audience it is conceivable that this may well be the case, but both are simply two possible articulations of the future.

There another feature of note in Palme text which is suggestive of a more general development in Swedish culture, namely the requirement to pay attention to the environmental movement as part of society, and the increasing need to establish control of the future through the invocation of the environment as a contributing factor. Forging such new political identities was integral to the ecological modernisation processes of the 1990s embodied by Göran Persson and discussed by Hermansson (2002) , and is even more clearly illustrated in the case study of the Stockholm bypass

³⁴ Cf. pp 223-225 & Fig. 7.5

³⁵ Here it is assumed that decommissioning nuclear power would be the obvious environmental good. Within the norms of the debate it is the obvious ‘environmental’ voice, and so is treated as such.

examined in the following chapter, whereby environment becomes an integral part of almost all Swedish political projects to different degrees.

6.5 Analyses 3,4 & 5: Campaign Messaging

An aspect of the nuclear referendum which brought the concept of explicit environmental messaging to the fore was the introduction of adverts placed in newspapers encouraging people to vote for each of the three referendum options. The adverts were both numerous and prominent, and were placed by the three campaign groups as well as the innocuous-sounding *Näringslivets Energiinformation* [Business and commerce energy information], who in reality were intimately connected with the Line 1 campaign group *Energi för Sverige*. The particular adverts analysed here are reflective of the general trends within the official messaging of the campaigns, with significant resources being expended on financing and placing adverts across all forms of media during the campaign period.

Analysis 3: Nuclear power as a conservation tool

The first article analysed is an advertorial placed in *Expressen* under the headline 'Nuclear Power is best for the environment.'³⁶ It features the prominent naturalist Nils Dahlbäck and broadly argues that a nuclear energy policy is the most sound environmental choice. It is particularly notable for its use of an environmentalist ethos and for explicitly using the character of the environmentalist.

³⁶ Appendix II, text 907

Analysis 6.3

Kärnkraften är bäst för miljön

- Det blir klappjakt på alla våra svenska naturtillgångar om nej-sidan vinner. De fyra orörda norrlandsälvarna byggs ut, våtmarker och torvmarker exploateras.

Det säger Nils Dahlbäck, en av våra främsta miljö- och naturvårdsexperter, känd från radio och TV.

Nils Dahlbäck tillfrågades på ett tidigt stadium om han ville jobba för nej-sidan.

- Men jag tackade nej. Jag valde linje 1 istället. Vi måste nämligen använda kärnkraften för att minska miljöpåfrestningarna och riskerna med alla kemiska utsläpp.

Nils Dahlbäck fortsätter

- Flera decenniers naturvårdsjobb hotas om nej-sidan vinner. Ska kärnkraften ersättas måste det ske med befintlig teknik – och då har vi bara vattenkraft och kolkraft att välja på

- att bygga ut vattenkraften ser jag som en katastrof. De fyra orörda Norrlandsälvarna är alltför värdefulla för att röstas bort den 23 mars. De får helt enkelt inte röras. De är en nationell tillgång som vi kanske ännu inte till fullo insett värdet av.

- Att satsa på kol vore också katastrofalt. Kol ger lika stora svavelutsläpp och försurningseffekter som oljan. Det ger utsläpp av tungmetaller, bl a det livsfarliga kvicksilvret. Det orsakar strålning och resulterar i livsfientlig aska i kolossala kvantiteter.

Nej-anhängarna menar nog väl när de pratar om Sol-Sverige. Även jag hoppas på det. Men jag är ingen dagdrömmare. Jag inser att det kommer att ta tid, 50 år minst. Nej-sidan glömmer bort att vi behöver energi även fram till dess. Vi kan inte bygga om människorna så att energibehovet försvinner.

- Jag skräms inte av kärnkraften. Tvärtom. Kärnkraften är ren och sett ur miljösynpunkt den bästa av de alternativ som finns. De allra flesta naturvårdsmänniskor delar den uppfattningen.

- Nej- anhängarna pratar om storskalighet och tror att den försvinner om kärnkraften avvecklas. Men samtidigt slåss de för stora vindkraftverk, enormasolkraftverk och gigantiska energiskogar. Storskaligheten finns alltså kvar även i deras framtidssamhälle – ja, den t o m förstärks!

Expressen (02-03-1980:16)

The interactional control of advertising is not the same as for newspaper articles as their corporate authors are not the medium of their publication but the organisations placing the ads. The piece is, however, formatted to resemble a news article and thus appears in the context of the newspaper. This lends it a legitimacy which other types of advertising might not acquire.

This is also evident in terms of its politeness strategies by introducing an agent, the broadcaster and conservationist Nils Dahlbäck, as a medium for communicating the campaign message. Although many of the assertions in the article are made by the corporate author rather than by Dahlbäck himself, they do not appeal to the reader, who remains passive and unchallenged.

The cohesive aspects of the text seek to collocate the retention of nuclear power with the agenda of the environmental movement as a whole, beginning with the idea that ‘it will be open season on our Swedish natural assets... the four Norrland rivers will be developed and wetland and peat bogs exploited.’. All of these were significant issues for the environmental movement, not least the sustainable development of hydroelectricity.

This is juxtaposed with the choice which confronted Nils Dahlbäck when asked to join *Folkkampanjen – Nej till kärnkraft*, in that he resisted and instead allied himself with the Line 1 campaign, mirroring the choice to be made by voters based on informed knowledge. This knowledge is then recalled again in reference to the spectre of hydroelectricity and ‘hard’ science through facts such as coal ‘releasing heavy metals, not least deadly quicksilver. It causes the release of radiation and results in dangerous ash in colossal quantities.’

The impossibility of transition to a non-nuclear economy sits next to several mentions of ‘Nej-sidan’, collocating the difficulty of abandoning nuclear with the negativity of their campaign, and an assertion that ‘most conservationists share that opinion’, thus de-collocating the anti-nuclear movement and the environmental movement from one another.

In the same vein there is an attempt to bring together the apparently disparate elements of nuclear decommissioning and centralised energy production by collocating the preferred energy sources of wind, solar and biomass with the concept of ‘large scale’

[*storskalighet*] usually associated with the nuclear-driven national energy grid. Most importantly, it concludes that 'Large scale production will still exist even in their futuristic society – in fact it will become even more important!' It is also worth noting how 'futuristic' is used as criticism of things being unrealistic.

Nils Dahlbäck, rather than the Line 1 campaign group, is the main agent of the article and is characterised as an assertive and potent voice through his deployment of expert knowledge. This is even maintained through use of a passive clause in which he says 'I am not scared by nuclear power', rather than becoming the object himself. There are other agents, notably the No-campaign who 'talk' and 'mean well' but who are never credited with concrete or meaningful action. The No-campaign are quite clearly separate from the 'We' mentioned several times. Who it represents is undefined but it alludes to the national community in phrases such as 'the no side forget that we need energy until then [the development of solar cells]'. This creates three separate active groups within the advert which can be classified as experts, voters and opponents.

Thematically the advert is narrow, reproducing the same themes and expanding upon them several times. The initial theme is one of unbridled exploitation 'if the no-campaign win', which then becomes the rheme in which the referendum is introduced. This is followed by the introduction of Nils Dahlbäck, the theme of which can be labeled 'expertise' and the rheme elaborating on his decision to back nuclear power 'in order to minimise environmental pressures and the risks of chemical release.'

There then comes a thematic list to undermine the anti-nuclear campaign, beginning with the pre-existing conservation movement, which the rheme argues will be threatened by decommissioning, and the introduction of both hydro-electric expansion and coal. These are expanded upon using Dahlbäck's expertise to alternately be described as 'a catastrophe' or 'catastrophic.'

Focus then shifts to the 'No-supporters', remaining so until the end of the article where the rhemes contrast their utopian naivety with the expertise of Dahlbäck and the reality of transition. This is typified in the assertion that 'No-supporters no doubt mean well when they talk about solar-Sweden [One of the stock phrases used by *Folkekampanjen-Nej till kärnkraft*]. Even I hope it happens, but I am no day dreamer.' This theme

indicates a preoccupation with the No campaign and a need to undermine them as being the ultimate aim of the advert, rather than the promotion of nuclear power per se.

This tactic is made clear by the wording. Paramount is the persistent renaming of *Folkkampanjen* as 'No-supporters' and an emphasis on the dangers of the alternative energy policy with its 'huge' windmills, 'enormous' solar stations and 'gigantic' biomass plantations. This is complemented by the notion of things remaining 'untouched', including the nationally symbolic 'untouched Norrlandic rivers' discussed in the previous chapter. The general frame created by the language assumes a violent developmentalism versus a pristine wilderness. The advert also introduces the concept of 'radiation' and redeploys it in reference to coal without reference to the irradiation from nuclear accidents.

The wilderness/ desecration descriptions evident in the wording of the advert thus become its dominant metaphor within the context of a 'paradise lost' framework. Interestingly, the resolutely pro-nuclear argument throws itself entirely behind the metaphorical construct and eschews modernity in favour of nuclear power as a guarantor of the past. To this end it is also reduced to a question of space with the discrete impact of nuclear power stations concentrated at certain locations contrasted with a sea of coal, wind and water projects spread across the landscape. This is of interest because it assumes a technological post-modernity in which technology becomes a guarantor of the past instead of a key to the future.

The advert constructs a composite ethic frame where the responsibility of conservation is applied to a scenario in which nuclear power becomes the most responsible tool of execution, contrasted with the supposed irresponsibility of *Folkkampanjen mot kärnkraft* in advocating a rush for resources. The emphasis on responsibility versus irresponsibility is strengthened by the introduction of expert knowledge and attempts to undermine the rival knowledge produced by the anti-nuclear camp. Rather than appealing to a new information discourse, the advert seeks to restate old information and continue on a tack pursued throughout the 1960s and 1970s which integrated nuclear power into the landscape³⁷ and assert the primacy of extant resources,

³⁷ This can be compared to the discussion of nuclear power as a less intrusive alternative to hydro-electric energy in Ch. 5, Analysis 4.

technology and economics. These can be condensed into three main ethic frames, namely conservation, responsibility and realism.

Summary

The strategy employed by *Energi för Sverige* in the advert is relatively typical in its attempt to counter the popular environmentalism of the anti-nuclear movement and stress the unrealistic nature of the concepts of 'Sol-Sverige' and 'Vind-Sverige' through a closing down of the future. By adopting a conservationist ethos, and by ignoring economic questions in favour of a focus on survival and management, it attempts to deligitimise alternative visions of the future and temporally restrain the debate. Dahlbäck is also illustrative of the values of the pre-1960s environmental movement in Sweden, which predates the moves from landscapism to issues of equity, sustainability and social solidarity. This can in many ways be seen to represent a misreading of the issues at stake in the referendum, though somewhat ironically the same argument would resurface decades later in the decision of the Centre Party to back the retention of nuclear power as a minority partner in the Alliance for Sweden governmental coalition (Roßegger, Ramin: 335), albeit with reference to climate change.

Analysis 4: Managing risk

The second close analysis is of an advert which appeared in the pages of from *Dagens Nyheter* on the 5th of March 1980, from Line 2, under the headline 'Line 2 provides the information'.³⁸ It focuses particularly on the creation of risk and how this can be managed.

This text is one of many which appeared as paid advertising in newspapers under the same '*Linje II ger besked*' headline, forming a series of articles containing large amounts of information setting out the case for the second option on the ballot paper.

Interactionally it is static, asking very few questions of the reader and imparting information without any potential for reply (though it might be argued that the reader has the right to reply at the ballot box if they should disagree with the advert). It is highly assertive and one of its key phrases, 'Don't make the 80s harder! [*Gör inte 80-talet svårare!*]' is imperative rather than interrogative. The original advert did though contain an

³⁸ Appendix II, text 123

invitation to find out more with the opportunity to submit contact details. This still leaves the reader as a passive participant though.

This affects its politeness, which relies heavily on a respect for the concept of factual information to compensate for its sterile tone. Being published in *Aftonbladet*, however, it presumes a certain amount of respect for the corporate voice of the Line II campaign and its tone can be described as paternalistic, as is further mirrored in its thematic and word choices.

It is constructed in such a way as to repeatedly establish collocational relationships between the challenges supposedly facing Sweden on economic and social levels with the uncertainties of a future without nuclear energy. This is typified in the initial paragraph of the advert which asserts:

Sweden's economy is unbalanced. Increasingly expensive oil is hitting welfare hard. There will need to be sacrifices to get Sweden back onto an even keel again. To quickly get rid of nuclear power in such a situation would seriously worsen these problems, and it is bad enough as it is.

The implication is that nuclear power is a necessary tool to meeting the insurmountable problems listed by the advert. This is extrapolated on in seven different issues facing the country, listed as national debt, balance of trade, housing prices, real term wages, business investment and the threat of unemployment, and finally inflation and the erosion of pension funds. This is then followed by the restatement of the necessity of retaining nuclear energy and the paternalistic call to 'safeguard jobs and wages with a sensible energy policy.'

This call is supported by another list of facts and challenges – including economic reorganization, oil dependency and pensions, and the assertion that 'None of this is possible without a strong economy'.

Analysis 6.4

Linje 2 ger besked!

Gör inte 80-talet svårare!

Sveriges ekonomi är ur balans. Den allt dyrare oljan slår hårt mot välfärden. Den kommer att krävas stora uppoffringar för att få Sverige på fötter igen. Att i denna situation snabbavveckla kärnkraften skulle allvarligt förvärra problemen och det är illa nog som det är.

Sveriges utlandsskuld ökar

Balansen i vår utrikshandel försämras

Bostadskostnaderna stiger snabbt genom dyrare olja

Reallönerna hotas ytterligare

Företagens investeringar är för låga

Arbetslösheten hotar att öka

Priserna skjuter i höjden och pensionsfonderna urholkas.

Det här innebär att vi svenskarkonsumerar mer än vi producerar. Vi måste nu konstatera att vår standard är i fara. Och med standard menar vi inte 'prylkonsumtion'. Nu handlar det om jobben, pensionerna, lönen – människors grundtrygghet helt enkelt.

Ändå står vi bara i början av problemen. Nua oljeprishöjningar hotar. Vi riskerar att standarden sjunker ytterligare, att ATP pensionerna äventyras, att arbetslösheten växer snabbt.

Att i denna situation snabbavveckla kärnkraften skulle allvarlig förvärra våra problem – och det är illa nog som det är.

SLÅ VAKT OM JOBBEN OCH LÖNEN MED EN FÖRNUFTIG ENERGIPOLITIK

Att klara 80-talets problem kommer att kräva stora uppoffringar. Vi måste avstå från konsumtion för att klara en väldig utbyggnad av industrin – det handlar om hundratusentals jobb. Men för att lyckas är det nödvändigt att vi har tillgång till energi till rimliga priser.

Sverige måste klara en rad tunga uppgifter på 80-talet.

Vi måste skapa flera hundratuden nya jobb – främst i verkstadsindustrin och den offentliga sektorn.

Vi måste klara svåra omställningar i krisbranscherna.

Vi måste göra oss mindre beroende av den allt dyrare oljan.

Vi måste skydda svaga grupper och klara vården, pensionerna, tryggheten för barnfamiljerna.

Inget av detta är möjligt utan en stark ekonomi.

Linje 3s förslag innebär att nästan hälften av landets resurser för elkraftproduktion försvinner på några få år! Elpriset skulle skjuta i höjden med ca 50%. Risken för ransonering skulle bli stor. Oljeimporten skulle öka. För näringslivet skulle följderna bli förödande. Många jobb skulle försvinna. Reallönerna skulle sjunka. Det blir mindre över för viktiga gemensamma uppgifter, t ex för daghem, skolor, sjukvård och bättre miljö.

Värst skulle människor drabbas i redan svårt utsatta branscher – t ex stål-, pappers- och kemisk industri – och regioner i landets, Norrland, Bergslagen osv – Vi skulle få se flytlassen börja rulla igen – under människors protester.

Vi kan avveckla kärnkraften, men vi behöver tid. Att snabbavveckla skulle förvärra redan svåra ekonomiska problem.

Gör inte 80-talet svårare!

Vi ska utnyttja kärnkraftverken vi byggt eller håller på att bygga. Men vi ska nu besluta att inga fler får byggas.

Det kräver en målmedveten politik för att satsa på hushållning och alternativa energikällor. Först då kan vi minska vårt stora oljeberoende och avveckla kärnkraften

Ska detta bli möjligt måste en rad beslut tas de närmaste åren av politikerna som är verksamma nu.

Linje 2 är den enda linje som har utarbetat en detaljerad plan för hur avvecklingen ska genomföras.

(*Aftonbladet* 05-03-1980:3)

Again, there is a collocative link drawn with consequences of nuclear decommissioning, including:

Line 3's vision would mean almost half of the country's energy resources vanishing in just a few years. Electricity prices would rocket by 50%. Risk of rationing would be huge. Oil imports would increase. The consequences would ravage industry. Jobs would disappear, and wages would fall. There would be less left over for important common causes such as childcare, schools, healthcare and safeguarding the environment.

Throughout the article the consequences of voting for removal of nuclear power immediately are linked, persistently and forcefully, with a crippling impact on the ability of the country to survive. The two different elements of the text establish a bond that runs all the way through it, creating an impression that the continuation of nuclear power is immediately and inextricably bound up with the interests of the country as a whole.

One effect of this narrow and persistent linkage is the creation of a relatively small number of agents. The most prominent is the dual Sweden/We, which integrates the reader into the context of the national polity for the purposes of the referendum. There is a significant repetition of 'we must', combined with strong active language such as 'manage', 'protect', 'create' and most obviously 'do'. This leads to the nation and the national group, inferred as the reader, to become active in a way that necessitates actively pursuing the choice which meets the challenges facing society. There is, though, some transfer of agency to politicians; 'We will decide now that no more nuclear stations will be built', but decisions 'must be taken in the coming years by politicians who are active now.' This feeds more generally into the notion of collective endeavor and sacrifice put across. The 'We' assumes a homogeneity which means that both speaker and audience are the same and phrases such as 'Don't make the 80s more difficult!' take the form of appeals internal to the group as opposed to orders.

The separation of society from politicians also emphasises that the nuclear question is one for the people to settle, hinting at criticism of the way in which political machinations had led to the nuclear issue being taken to the referendum and the avowed policy of the centre party. This would also suggest that the agent created goes beyond

the social democratic ‘we’ favoured by Palme and the explicitly social democratic aspects of the campaign.

In line with the straightforward and consistent collocation of obstacle and countermeasure there is a clear attempt to maintain thematic consistency. The entirety of the first nine themes introduced relate to obstacles, obstructions or challenges. Where these themes are expanded upon in a rheme, it inevitably offers a solution in the form of retaining nuclear energy, as in the phrase . ‘We must establish that our living standard is in danger, and by living standard we do not mean luxury consumerism. It is a question of jobs, pensions, wages, and quite simply basic personal security.’

No fewer than thirteen of the twenty-five thematic points in the advert introduce risk or obstacles, divided into two sections and separated by themes of ‘safeguarding’ and ‘protection ‘ in ‘SAFEGUARD JOBS WITH A SENSIBLE ENERGY POLICY.’ The very end of the advert sees a thematic shift to possibility and identity through the twin assertions ‘If this is to be possible’ and ‘Line 2 is the only line’, the rhemes of which discuss the implementation of a viable energy policy.

The wording makes use of stock hard phrases from economic discourse neglects softer language – the exceptions being the use of the word ‘människor’ (a more humane and universal term for people) – whilst the words attributed to the different referendum campaigns play in the idea of certainty versus uncertainty. Line 3 have a ‘suggestion’ whilst line two have a ‘plan’, and there repetition of certain words such as ‘jobs’, ‘security’, ‘danger’, ‘putting at risk’ and an interesting semantic distinction between the decommissioning [*avveckla*] and rapid decommissioning [*snabbavveckla*] which introduces temporal dimensions to the argument and the notion of appropriate timescales for transition.

The underlying metaphor for the advert is one of catastrophe and collapse counteracted by balance. Although environmental themes are almost entirely absent, save for a single sentence about ‘a better environment’, there is a constant figurative construction around the idea of a balanced society as a means of avoiding catastrophe. This metaphor of balance is evident in the modality of several of the statements made in the advert where

possibility is negated or qualified, including 'We can get rid of nuclear, but we need time.' It also features in mentions of balance of trade, higher levels of consumption than production and even in the positioning of Line 2 between the extremities of Line 1 and Line 3.

The textual ethos thus becomes one of restraint, responsibility and realism. Like many other texts authored in support of Line 2 it accepts the desirability of nuclear decommissioning but this is subsumed almost entirely by a need to appear stable and temporally relevant, eschewing some of the static ethic frames favoured by the Line 1 campaign whilst stressing the problems of the immediate transition favoured by Line 3. This moderation and balance is particularly evident in the advert's structure and its stressing of the existence of significant but not insurmountable obstacles, as well as the aforementioned assertions such as 'Sweden's economy is unbalanced.' The ethe of responsibility and realism manifest themselves in mentions of the concrete plan and the central concept of common sense, '*Förnuft*'.

Summary

In common with several similar ads issued by the Line 2 campaign under the 'Linje 2 ger besked' banner it eschews the emotive language and arguments of the anti-nuclear movement whilst engaging more constructively with the possibilities of the future. Furthermore the economy is framed within the context of security and welfare rather than as an end in itself and there are attempts to delegitimise the anti-nuclear movement due to its naivety, rather than its motivations.

There is also little attempt to create new or divergent kinds of knowledge through active resistance to new ideas. This results in a linear narrative which rejects the new information discourse (it is debatable whether the 'facts' of the advert constitute new information as they restate already extant standpoints rather than being novel in themselves) and rely on concern for environmentalism being assuaged by the constant need to grow and produce. Unlike some aspects of the Line 3 campaign which took an anti-consumption standpoint, here overconsumption is presented purely as an issue to be rectified through increased production within the balanced economy frame. As such

it represents an extremely narrow, material, conception of economic progress devoid of any utopian edge.

Analysis 5: Voting for a better future

The following text³⁹ appeared as an advert in *Aftonbladet* on the 21st March 1980. It is typical in several respects of the campaign adverts placed in the print media by *Folkkampanjen Nej till Kärnkraft*, being one of the last adverts placed before the referendum vote on the 23rd March. Its headline is ‘Vote for a better 1980s!’

Interactionally the Line 3 advert is less of an attempt at providing ostensibly factual information and more of a direct appeal to readers to contribute to a central aim, namely ‘making the 1980s a positive decade.’ The invitation invites acceptance or rejection and helps to facilitate a politeness strategy which invites, rather than commands or informs audience to participate. This is similar to the participatory rhetoric of the Line 3 campaign generally typified by the idea of a people’s campaign in the name *Folkkampanjen – Nej till kärnkraft!*

The advert’s structure can be split into three cohesive sections containing aims, justifications and solutions. The first section urges ‘Vote for a better 1980s!’ collocated with the assertion that ‘Sweden needs investment in new and vital industries’, indicating that investment and renewal will somehow be better. The energy question remains unmentioned until it is brought up as an obstacle at the beginning of the second section. The second section of the article introduces nuclear power as an obstacle to this economic renewal and discusses Line 3’s alternative energy plans, before linking them back to the initial topic of job creation and renewal:

Through this tens of thousands of meaningful jobs will be created in the engineering industry, the building industry and in the forest regions. These investments are what is needed to get Sweden moving.

The third section re-asserts the collocational link in sentences such as ‘the continued expansion of nuclear energy slows the transition to alternative power sources and holds back the growth of new, viable industries. This is exactly the same collocation as is present at the beginning of the advert between energy transition and a new industrial strategy.

³⁹ Appendix II, text 179

Analysis 6.5

Rösta för ett bättre 80-tal!

Låt oss göra 80-talet till ett positivt årtioende! Sverige behöver en satsning på nya och livskraftiga industrier.

Kärnkraften står i vägen för detta. Visserligen kostar det att bli kvitt, den, men det är på alternativa energikällor och hushållning som pengarna satsas. Därmed skapas 10 tusentals meningsfulla jobb i verkstadsindustrin, varven, byggnadsbranschen och skogslänen. Det satsningen är vad som behövs för att sätta fart på Sverige.

En sådan industrisatsning kräver energi. Med linje 3 ökar industrins elanvändning snabbare under 80-talet än vad som var fallet under 70-talet. Det klarar vi med hjälp av kraftvärmeverk, vindkraftsverk och effektivare elanvändning.

Vilket 80-tal får vi med linje 1 och linje 2? De vill satsa ytterligare minst 15 miljarder på att bygga två stora kärnkraftverk. Forsmark 3 (reaktor nr 11) är knappast mer än påbörjad. Där Oskarshamn 3 (reaktor nr 12) planeras, finns idag bara en skogsdunge.

Den fortsatta utbyggnaden av kärnkraften bromsar en övergång till alternativa energikällor och förhindrar därmed uppkomsten av nya och livskraftiga industrier.

Avveckla kärnkraften!

Gör 80-talet till ett positivt årtioende.

Rösta Nej! Linje 3.

(*Aftonbladet* 21-03-1980:33)

Who is responsible for executing this strategy is evident from the transitivity and the creation of an division in agenda between the Lines 1 and 2 and Line 3, who here become a singular pro-nuclear grouping in expressions such as:

They [Lines 1 and 3] want to spend a further 15 billion on the building of two large nuclear power stations.

This can be contrasted with the actions of Line 3. Of particular interest is the portrayal of Line 3 as a facilitator rather than a direct agent:

With Line 3 the energy use of industry can increase faster in the 80s than was the case during the 70s. We can manage it with the help of combined heat and power plants, wind turbines and more effective energy usage.

This transformation would be carried with, and not by, Line 3, whilst the 'we' refers to the nation and not to the campaign group. This further accentuates the emphasis on participation and inclusivity used by the Line 3 campaign.

This is also shown in the encouragement to 'Vote for a better 1980s'. Although it appears in the imperative, the verb itself invites the audience to become an agent (which can be contrasted with headlines such as 'Line 2 provides the information'). It is worth noting what nuclear energy is doing in the advert. At different points nuclear energy is said to 'stand in the way of', 'slow' and 'hinder' progress, whereas alternative energy will 'create' and 'help'.

The thematic structure of the advert places a great emphasis on processes and their outcome: the first theme introduced is voting, which is expanded to entail voting for a better decade, and is followed by facilitation. 'Nuclear power stands in the way' marks the introduction of nuclear energy as a problem, and the rheme following the introduction of the theme leads into an explanation of why this is the case (*cf.* . discussion of collocation). The next theme is investment in industry, a stock theme for all of the campaigns which allows the Line 3 advert to introduce its alternative vision, followed by a theme of uncertainty and possibility as the advert asks 'Which 1980s will we get?'

The final two themes introduced are the continuation of nuclear development and a return to the instructive call to vote at the very beginning through, juxtaposed against one another as continuity versus change. This facilitates a larger thematic consistency based around change and improvement as opposed to technological stasis and the opportunities for change facilitating a better decade.

Themes of change and stasis become an underlying metaphorical preoccupation with renewal and rebirth in which the dark atmosphere of the 1970s fades into the dawn of a bright 1980s with new technology and new ways of doing things. Given that *Folkekampanjen-Nej till kärnkraft* have a smiling sun as their logo (invented in the Danish anti-nuclear movement and subsequently adopted worldwide), the dawn metaphor is an appropriate one. It even plays into the concept of 'Sol-Sverige' which contrasted with the notion of 'Atom-Sverige' used in the 1950s and 1960s.

The frames present in the advert are thus more complex than simply restating the dangers of nuclear energy, as Thorbjörn Fälldin explicitly and repeatedly did. On the contrary, the advert embodies an informed optimism based around alternative or future vision, renewal and new information discourses which seek to create new knowledge and supersede the nuclear project both technologically and temporally. This can be compared with the optimistic technologism present in non-nuclear Denmark around the same period, where alternative energy had mainstreamed and was in the process of becoming a particularly Danish symbol of technological advancement.

Summary

The tactic pursued by *Folkekampanjen-Nej till kärnkraft*, as opposed to individual politicians from the Swedish Centre party or Left, is to transform pessimism about future risks into opportunity through the production of counter-knowledge and by introducing alternative energy as a means of facilitation rather than an end in itself. To this end it avoids any attempt at altruism or ethical approaches and instead focuses on the practical opportunity for an economic and social renaissance in contrast to the fatalism and guarded language of its opponents. The description of the 1980s as a positive decade – an almost universally attractive concept – and the relative absence of political ideology invite participation and cooperation in the context of the people's

campaign. Their idea of voting for a better decade attempts not just to change the energy situation but to harness a desire for a different future altogether. This can usefully be contrasted with 1980s liberal and neoliberal appeals to a post-socialist modernity.⁴⁰

6.6 The debate as a whole

The challenge inherent in analysing the Swedish nuclear referendum, and what makes it so interesting as an object of study outside of the specific in depth analyses already outlined, is the sheer amount of material and the breadth of debate in terms of topic, medium, context and argument. A six month period running up to the referendum alone yields more than five hundred separate articles linked directly to the nuclear issue. These cover areas as diverse as sport and culture, media regulation, the democratic process, coalition government and international relations.

It is also notable that the identities present in the nuclear debate are far more complex than those from the Vindel river conflict and the Stockholm bypass, although there is a significant degree of overlap between all three. This is the result of both the aforementioned breadth of the debate and an evolution in terms of the political climate and the nature of the referendum itself. The incidence of different ethos frames is visualised in the word cloud show in Fig. 6.2.

6.7 Data

In total the nuclear study uses 822 retrieved texts, by far the largest number of any of the three case studies despite using the same time period, six months, and the same four publications. The sheer amount of press copy generated by the nuclear referendum dwarfs not only the other environmental case studies in this thesis but was by far the largest single news story for all of the autumn of 1979 and spring of 1980. It dominated debate and opinion pages, generated daily news stories and extended into almost every section of the four national newspapers.

Of the texts surveyed, 76 were adverts, 208 were debate articles, 126 were leaders, 102 were news features, and 300 were shorter news articles with more straightforward reporting. There were also a small number of articles from culture, sport and letters sections but these are not significant in terms of the overall corpus. All the different

⁴⁰ Cf. Discussion of the future of the environment as concept, pp 258-261

article types have however been included with the rest of the data in Appendix II. Although extensive, this survey was not entirely comprehensive as the archive material used had to be searched manually. This means that the total number of related articles was likely higher still than what is featured in this corpus.

The high level of opinion articles, often appearing on days when there was no nuclear news to comment on, illustrates the prevalence of the referendum in terms of the public sphere in general. The most prolific publications for debate on the nuclear referendum were the broadsheets *Svenska Dagbladet*, with 99 articles, and *Dagens Nyheter*, with 100.

The Social-Democratic *Aftonbladet* was consistently lower in its coverage than the other publications, registering 153 articles of all types on the nuclear issue compared to 174 in *Expressen* and 220 from *Svenska Dagbladet*. The clear leader in terms of overall articles on the nuclear issue is, however, *Dagens Nyheter*, with 277 articles of varying types which deal with nuclear energy or its alternatives in some form.

The nuclear referendum is also unique in employing advertising within print media to persuade voters. In this respect *Svenska Dagbladet* yielded a low number of texts at just 7, whereas *Dagens Nyheter*, *Aftonbladet* and *Expressen* produced 22, 25, and 22 adverts respectively. These figures should though be approached with some caution, as many of the ads are identical, merely appearing in different media on different days.



Fig. 6.2 A word cloud of ethetic frames from the nuclear debate. The dominance of an emphasis on information provision is clearly visible, as is the diverse and wide-ranging number of lesser ethos frames and the general fragmentation of argument.

6.8 Mapping textual ethos

An overview of the different textual ethos frames from the debate shows the dominance of a select group of central concepts, including information (151 texts), visions (184 texts), democracy (137 texts) security (93 texts), and risk (138 texts) among others. These are coupled with concepts such as gender, nation, personality and responsibility. Most noteworthy however is the relative absence of strongly environmental ethe in the debate, with ethe of environmentalism or the environmentalist as primary character occurring only 20 times. This can be attributed partly to the nuclear debate not being conducted using modern environmental language - incidences of the term 'miljö' are limited throughout the period as a whole and the discursive concept of 'the environment' is subject to change, as mentioned in chapter two. The second explanation for this is that the debate became so huge that it transcended traditional concepts of environmentalism and transformed them into a larger social narrative in the struggle for control of the nation's economic and energy future. This is particularly the case with the construction of political identity discussed in the close analysis of texts earlier in the chapter, but also manifests itself outside of the direct addresses to the nation in advertising and opinion articles through the construction of news texts.

Vision

The overwhelmingly dominant textual frame is an expression of vision, both alternative and continuing. This is found across the range of positions in the debate and present in both reporting on the nuclear issue the issue and direct opinionated discussions about the country's future. This is also intimately linked to the temporality of the debate at large and the way in which different timescales and narratives are constructed as a means of illustrating the aptness of different decisions in the energy question. It is also important because the visionary and predictive function of many of the articles aims not just to discuss the future of energy but to offer an entire vision of society by introducing elements of wellbeing, social solidarity and security. As such, alternative and future visions function as a master frame, with vision becoming a moral property of the campaigns and their leaders and assuming an internal value. This broad frame is typified in a spread⁴¹ published on 8th February 1980 in *Dagens Nyheter* outlining the respective visions of each campaign. (Fig. 6.3)

⁴¹ Appendix II, text 716



Olja

Hetvatten Sol om 40 år

— Olja kommer att finnas i 50 år till. Någon brist under överskådlig tid behövs vi inte räkna med. Däremot finns det andra osäkerheter. Framför allt om oljan kommer att kosta mer eller mindre än andra uppvärmningsformer, vilket den inte kommer att bli det.

Det säger biträde kammaren i riksdagen, Per Westerberg, till Dagens Nybeter.

— Vi i linje 1 menar att det ändå är osäkerhet att minska vår beroende av olja. Vi vill ha en bra värmeallt framtiden.

— En sådan värmeallt är värmepumpen från Forsberg som köps in på Stockholms kommun.

Enligt värmepumpen i linje 3 skulle enligt linje 1 byggas om för att ge värme till de närmaste åren kan tunneln och reaktorn vara klar att tas i bruk 1983-85.

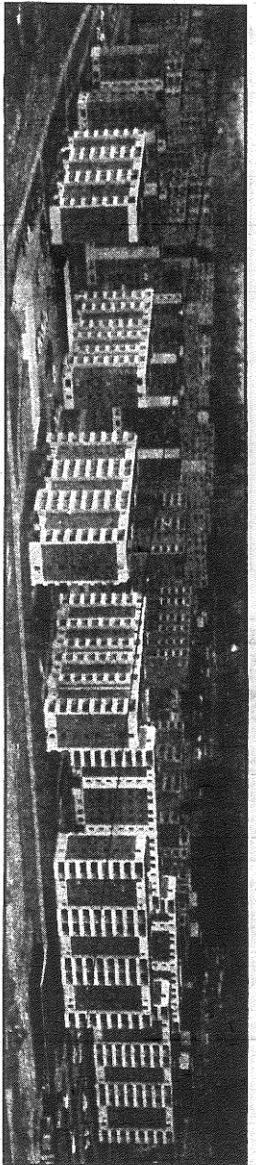
Detta system används i cirka 25 år och återbetalar sig med enbart värmepumpens kostnad. Byggs på taken i Stockholm och närmast alla mellanbyggarna byggas.

Om detta resonemang ska bli verklighet, så skulle det vara en bra idé att värmevärmepumpen i linje 1 byggas om för att ge värme till de närmaste åren kan tunneln och reaktorn vara klar att tas i bruk 1983-85.

Vad värmepumpen från Forsberg kommer att kosta vet man inte. Reaktorn ska enligt linje 1 byggas om för att ge värme till de närmaste åren kan tunneln och reaktorn vara klar att tas i bruk 1983-85.

Priset på eldningssolna stiger stadigt. På torsdagen tillät regeringen en höjning med 90 kronor per kubikmeter. Vad ska vi värma våra bostäder med när oljan blir för dyr?

Den frågan ställde Mert Kulu på DN:s första sida i onsdags till politikerna bakom linjerna i och så här svarar linjerna 1, 2 och 3:



Priset på eldningssolna stiger stadigt. På torsdagen tillät regeringen en höjning med 90 kronor per kubikmeter. Vad ska vi värma våra bostäder med när oljan blir för dyr?

Den frågan ställde Mert Kulu på DN:s första sida i onsdags till politikerna bakom linjerna i och så här svarar linjerna 1, 2 och 3:

Priset på eldningssolna stiger stadigt. På torsdagen tillät regeringen en höjning med 90 kronor per kubikmeter. Vad ska vi värma våra bostäder med när oljan blir för dyr?

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Priset på eldningssolna stiger stadigt. På torsdagen tillät regeringen en höjning med 90 kronor per kubikmeter. Vad ska vi värma våra bostäder med när oljan blir för dyr?

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Den frågan ställde Mert Kulu på DN:s första sida i onsdags till politikerna bakom linjerna i och så här svarar linjerna 1, 2 och 3:

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Den frågan ställde Mert Kulu på DN:s första sida i onsdags till politikerna bakom linjerna i och så här svarar linjerna 1, 2 och 3:

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Den frågan ställde Mert Kulu på DN:s första sida i onsdags till politikerna bakom linjerna i och så här svarar linjerna 1, 2 och 3:

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Den frågan ställde Mert Kulu på DN:s första sida i onsdags till politikerna bakom linjerna i och så här svarar linjerna 1, 2 och 3:

Priset på eldningssolna stiger stadigt. På torsdagen tillät regeringen en höjning med 90 kronor per kubikmeter. Vad ska vi värma våra bostäder med när oljan blir för dyr?

Den frågan ställde Mert Kulu på DN:s första sida i onsdags till politikerna bakom linjerna i och så här svarar linjerna 1, 2 och 3:

Olja som i dag

Enligt energikommissionen ska värmen i Stockholm byggas om för att ge värme till de närmaste åren kan tunneln och reaktorn vara klar att tas i bruk 1983-85.

Detta system används i cirka 25 år och återbetalar sig med enbart värmepumpens kostnad. Byggs på taken i Stockholm och närmast alla mellanbyggarna byggas.

Om detta resonemang ska bli verklighet, så skulle det vara en bra idé att värmevärmepumpen i linje 1 byggas om för att ge värme till de närmaste åren kan tunneln och reaktorn vara klar att tas i bruk 1983-85.

Vad värmepumpen från Forsberg kommer att kosta vet man inte. Reaktorn ska enligt linje 1 byggas om för att ge värme till de närmaste åren kan tunneln och reaktorn vara klar att tas i bruk 1983-85.

Priset på eldningssolna stiger stadigt. På torsdagen tillät regeringen en höjning med 90 kronor per kubikmeter. Vad ska vi värma våra bostäder med när oljan blir för dyr?

Den frågan ställde Mert Kulu på DN:s första sida i onsdags till politikerna bakom linjerna i och så här svarar linjerna 1, 2 och 3:

Priset på eldningssolna stiger stadigt. På torsdagen tillät regeringen en höjning med 90 kronor per kubikmeter. Vad ska vi värma våra bostäder med när oljan blir för dyr?

Den frågan ställde Mert Kulu på DN:s första sida i onsdags till politikerna bakom linjerna i och så här svarar linjerna 1, 2 och 3:

Priset på eldningssolna stiger stadigt. På torsdagen tillät regeringen en höjning med 90 kronor per kubikmeter. Vad ska vi värma våra bostäder med när oljan blir för dyr?

Den frågan ställde Mert Kulu på DN:s första sida i onsdags till politikerna bakom linjerna i och så här svarar linjerna 1, 2 och 3:

Priset på eldningssolna stiger stadigt. På torsdagen tillät regeringen en höjning med 90 kronor per kubikmeter. Vad ska vi värma våra bostäder med när oljan blir för dyr?

Den frågan ställde Mert Kulu på DN:s första sida i onsdags till politikerna bakom linjerna i och så här svarar linjerna 1, 2 och 3:

Priset på eldningssolna stiger stadigt. På torsdagen tillät regeringen en höjning med 90 kronor per kubikmeter. Vad ska vi värma våra bostäder med när oljan blir för dyr?

Den frågan ställde Mert Kulu på DN:s första sida i onsdags till politikerna bakom linjerna i och så här svarar linjerna 1, 2 och 3:

Priset på eldningssolna stiger stadigt. På torsdagen tillät regeringen en höjning med 90 kronor per kubikmeter. Vad ska vi värma våra bostäder med när oljan blir för dyr?

Den frågan ställde Mert Kulu på DN:s första sida i onsdags till politikerna bakom linjerna i och så här svarar linjerna 1, 2 och 3:



Kärn- värm vatten

Enligt energikommissionen ska värmen i Stockholm byggas om för att ge värme till de närmaste åren kan tunneln och reaktorn vara klar att tas i bruk 1983-85.

Detta system används i cirka 25 år och återbetalar sig med enbart värmepumpens kostnad. Byggs på taken i Stockholm och närmast alla mellanbyggarna byggas.

Om detta resonemang ska bli verklighet, så skulle det vara en bra idé att värmevärmepumpen i linje 1 byggas om för att ge värme till de närmaste åren kan tunneln och reaktorn vara klar att tas i bruk 1983-85.

Vad värmepumpen från Forsberg kommer att kosta vet man inte. Reaktorn ska enligt linje 1 byggas om för att ge värme till de närmaste åren kan tunneln och reaktorn vara klar att tas i bruk 1983-85.

Priset på eldningssolna stiger stadigt. På torsdagen tillät regeringen en höjning med 90 kronor per kubikmeter. Vad ska vi värma våra bostäder med när oljan blir för dyr?

Den frågan ställde Mert Kulu på DN:s första sida i onsdags till politikerna bakom linjerna i och så här svarar linjerna 1, 2 och 3:

Priset på eldningssolna stiger stadigt. På torsdagen tillät regeringen en höjning med 90 kronor per kubikmeter. Vad ska vi värma våra bostäder med när oljan blir för dyr?

Den frågan ställde Mert Kulu på DN:s första sida i onsdags till politikerna bakom linjerna i och så här svarar linjerna 1, 2 och 3:

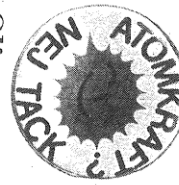
Priset på eldningssolna stiger stadigt. På torsdagen tillät regeringen en höjning med 90 kronor per kubikmeter. Vad ska vi värma våra bostäder med när oljan blir för dyr?

Den frågan ställde Mert Kulu på DN:s första sida i onsdags till politikerna bakom linjerna i och så här svarar linjerna 1, 2 och 3:

Priset på eldningssolna stiger stadigt. På torsdagen tillät regeringen en höjning med 90 kronor per kubikmeter. Vad ska vi värma våra bostäder med när oljan blir för dyr?

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Olja, gas Snabb satsning på inhemskt

Enligt energikommissionen ska värmen i Stockholm byggas om för att ge värme till de närmaste åren kan tunneln och reaktorn vara klar att tas i bruk 1983-85.

Detta system används i cirka 25 år och återbetalar sig med enbart värmepumpens kostnad. Byggs på taken i Stockholm och närmast alla mellanbyggarna byggas.

Om detta resonemang ska bli verklighet, så skulle det vara en bra idé att värmevärmepumpen i linje 1 byggas om för att ge värme till de närmaste åren kan tunneln och reaktorn vara klar att tas i bruk 1983-85.

Vad värmepumpen från Forsberg kommer att kosta vet man inte. Reaktorn ska enligt linje 1 byggas om för att ge värme till de närmaste åren kan tunneln och reaktorn vara klar att tas i bruk 1983-85.

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ASSI bryter torv

Attelbolaget Statens Skogsindustrier (ASSI) fick på torsdagen regeringens tillstånd till torvutvinning från Bodens och Ärvälsgårds kommuner i landskapet Ångermanland på 25 år.

Torven ska främst användas i ASSI:s egna anläggningar, men det finns planer på att leverera torv till andra industrier och kommuner och eventuellt också till andra köpare.

Senast sommaren 1983 räknar man med att torvutvinningen kommer ge ASSI omkring 100 miljoner kronor i årlig intäkter utöver en rad miljöförluster som är förknippade med torvutvinningen.

En villkor från regeringen är att ASSI ska bekosta en bostadslös dokumentation av naturvetenskapligt värde i området. Ett annat är att samrätta med skogsvårhetsplanerna om eventuell inverkning på landskapsvården och bevara naturvärdena.

ASSI ska också undersöka möjligheterna att återställa brytningarna till jord- och skogsbarnen.

En viktig utgångspunkt för linje 3 energipolitik är att vi ska kunna reducera vårt oljeberoende delvis genom att utveckla andra energikällor. Det är samma tanke som ligger bakom linje 1 och 2.

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Fig. 6.3 Presentation of all three plans in *Dagens Nybeter* (08-02-1980:8), emphasising respective visions of the future and of social and technological modernisation.

The article juxtaposes three separate visions from the three separate campaigns with their different plans for the future of energy. They all attempt to temporally situate their arguments and to give concrete timescales, though these are aspirational rather than detailed (It should be noted that the short timescale of the referendum campaign meant that new competing knowledges needed to be produced and fleshed-out quickly, rather than accurately.)

The Line 1 text is for example headlined ‘Oil, Hot Water [CHP], Sun in 40 Years.’ Despite the line 1 campaign offering the least change of any of the three options it is still deemed necessary to offer technological transition to new technologies, albeit delayed to an undefined point in time. The Line 2 plan ‘Nuclear-heated water. Alternatives in time’ seeks to locate its ideal future in relation to the present, outlining an alternative vision whilst justifying contemporary actions as a means of achieving it. In common with the Line 1 campaign, it mixes the prospect of alternative technology with the continuation of the nuclear project in the medium term to create a timescale and a plan which promises change of a sort. The Line 3 headline, however, has an alternative vision in which the future begins immediately; ‘Oil, gas, and rapid investment in domestic energy.’ Nuclear energy is given no space in the particular vision, whilst ‘rapid investment’ is proactive and forward looking. This direct comparison is illustrative of how all three lines seek to offer different visions, but how all are still bound by the apparent need to offer an alternative future. The question is thus transformed into one of timescale and pragmatism rather than principle or ethics. As is further discussed in the concluding chapter, the provision of future security is one of the constants across both the nuclear debate and the other two case studies, demanding temporal narratives of managed change to guarantee possible futures.

This is equally evident in debate articles such as that published in *Aftonbladet* on the 19th of February 1980⁴² under the headline ‘Nuclear power blocks the alternatives’ by the then Centre Party Minister for Industry, Nils G Åsling (Fig. 6.4). The article seeks to create nuclear energy as a temporal obstacle to security of both energy and economy.

⁴² Appendix II, text 99

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Kärnkraften kan leda till el-överskott under 1980-talet och då finns det inget marknadsintresse för inhemska och förnybara alternativ, hävdar industrimister Nils G Åsling.

Alternativ energiteknik kan utvecklas med andra stimulanser än el-brist, svarar Aftonbladet.

Inlägget

I en ledare i tisdags går Aftonbladet till angrepp mot mitt uttalande att en kärnkrafts-utveckling skulle stimulera den energitekniska utvecklingen i Sverige. Aftonbladet påstår också att Linje 2:s förslag innebär en kraftigare satsning på de alternativa energikällorna än Folkkampanjens.

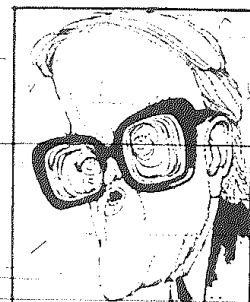
Detta påstående plus tidigare innebär att vi nu kommit dithän att Linje 2 inte bara är bäst att byta ut och att utveckla kärnkraften utan även bäst på satsning på de alternativa energikällorna.

Slagord som störst, bäst och duktigast kan kanske göra sig bra i propagandan. Nackdelen är emellertid att de som söker en grundsyn bakom de stora orden lätt blir besvikna när den vackra fasaden efter hand flagnar.

• Marknader behövs

Jag har angivit som en första förutsättning för att inhemska och förnybara energikällor som flis, torv, solvarme och vindkraft skall kunna utvecklas är att det finns utrymme för dem i vårt energisystem. Solvarme används för bostadsuppvärmning. Som tillsatsvarme är den ekonomiskt in-

Kärnkraften blockerar alternativen



tressant redan i dag. De inhemska bränslena kan användas dels för ren bostadsuppvärmning och dels för kombinerad el- och värmeproduktion. I en kommunal kraftvärmeverk.

För att få avsättning för elströmmen från kärnkraften krävs dock att all nybebyggelse av småhus, en stor del av nybebyggelsen av flerfamiljshus och en hel del befintlig bebyggelse uppvärms med el. Därmed bortfaller en stor del av marknaden för de alternativa energikällorna.

Någon utbyggnad av den

kommunala kraftvärmen kan inte ske i kärnkraftsalternativet. Därmed bortfaller den andra stora marknaden.

Eftersom kärnkraftsutbyggnaden leder till risk för elöverskott under 1980-talet finns det heller inget intresse för en kraftfull satsning på vindkraften. På det sättet blockerar alltså kärnkraften utvecklingen av inhemska och förnybara energikällor.

• Splittrade resurser

Slutligen, Aftonbladet försöker leda i bevis att centern tycker att statliga insatser för

den energitekniska utvecklingen är onödiga.

"Beviset" som tidningen för fram som belägg för detta påstående torde vara att regeringen i budgetpropositionen nu inte föreslår inrättandet av ett ytterligare statligt utvecklingsbolag för energiteknisk utveckling. Motivet för detta är främst ett Småsvik Energiteknik, som är ett sådant utvecklingsbolag, i höstas av Riksdagen fick ytterligare 40 miljoner i anslag. Att nu inrätta ett utvecklingsbolag skulle bara splittra resurserna.

Nils G Åsling

Onödig el-brist

heter att påskynda vara chanser att ta oss ur olje- och kärnkraftsberoendet är dubbel: dels vill han kunna utnyttja marknadsargumentet mot kärnkraften, dels får han inte använda andra styrmedel för Gösta Bohman.

Bohman i sin tur har fullgoda motiv från sina utgångspunkter för denna hållning. Han vill av intresseskal inte bidra till att kärnkraften kan utvecklas och han vill av ideologiska skal inte er-

känna marknadsekonomin otillräcklighet när det gäller att främja socialt eller miljömässigt angelägna mål.

Centern och Åsling har accepterat att regera på Bohmans villkor. För att få argumenten för Linje 3 att stämma med regeringens övriga politik tvingas centern tycka om el-brist och drastiskt höjda elpriser som incitament. Men då går det inte att avvisa konsekvensutredningens höga elpriser i utvecklingsalternativet.

Fig 6.4 Nils G Åsling on alternative investment. It also asserts the importance of markets over planned energy policy, but is subject to criticism on the same page from Aftonbladet's leader writers. (Aftonbladet 19-02-1980:2)

In terms of alternative vision, the key section of Åsling's article is the following collocation of nuclear energy as a barrier to future vision:

Because expansion of nuclear power creates the risk of energy surplus during the 1980s, there is little incentive to make a meaningful investment in wind energy. In this way nuclear power actually blocks the development of domestic and renewable energy sources.

This contradicts the assertions of the Line 1 and Line 2 campaigns that nuclear energy is a tool to facilitate transition, whilst also framing the debate in terms of industrial strategy and economic development. In terms of economic identities, the anti-nuclear line is thus able to use diametrically opposed arguments to form common justification by re-framing the opposition to nuclear within the general economic values which demand a viable national industrial policy.

A different vision emerges in a pro-Line 2 leader⁴³ also appearing in *Aftonbladet*, on the 13th February 1980, which makes demands on the Line 1 and Line 3 campaigns to present a vision whilst complementing Line 2 on having such a concrete roadmap.

Without a consistent energy policy under the direction of society at large nuclear power cannot be phased out. This is why Line 1 lack credibility as anything other than a continuation of nuclear energy and oil dependency.

Without a long period of transition with enough time for research it is not possible to both give up nuclear power and reduce oil dependency. This is why Line 3's quick decommissioning is not credible if the difficult economic and social consequences are taken into account.

When the alternatives in the referendum are presented with as much clarity as Line 2s decommissioning plans are, it is unarguably true that it is a choice between different social systems – not just between the number of power stations.

Such a line embodies the already-mentioned tendency to turn the debate into a discussion of societal futures, rather than merely energy futures, whilst delegitimising the alternative vision of others. These two variations in alternative futures can be contrasted with attempts to see nuclear energy as a safeguard. An advert from the Line 1 campaign⁴⁴ takes this future and asks why it should be risked (Fig. 6.5).

⁴³ Appendix II, text 95

⁴⁴ Appendix II, text 454

Ska oljeländerna bestämma vår framtid?

I MITTEN AV APRIL SMATTRAR FÖLJANDE TELEGRAM FRAM PÅ TELEPRINTRARNA RUNT OM I VÄRLDEN:

--OMFATTANDE DEMONSTRATIONER OCH UPPLOPP BLAND ISLAMSKA AKTIVISTER HAR BRUTIT UT PÅ FLERA PLATSER I SAUDIARABIEN. EN UPSAMLINGSSTATION FÖR RÅOLJA STÅR I BRAND. ALL UT-SKEPPNING AV OLJA FRÅN VÄRLDENS STÖRSTA OLJEHAMN I RAS TANURA HAR STOPPATS SEDAN DEMONSTRANTER OCKUPERAT HELA HAMNEN OCH HOTAT SÄTTA ELD PÅ OLJELAGREN.--

Om det här skulle hända tillhör Sverige de länder som drabbas hårdast.

Inget land i världen är så beroende av importerad olja som Sverige. 70 procent av vår energi kommer från oljan. Och oljeleveranserna kan strypas i morgon.

Kärnkraften minskar oljeberoendet

Världen står mitt i en energikris. Oljan håller på att ta slut. Två tredjedelar av oljan finns i Mellanöstern, ett av världens oroligaste hörn. Revolutioner skakar gamla samhällssystem. Stormaktsstyrkor står mot varandra.

Alla länder försöker i dag att utveckla andra energikällor än oljan. Ska då vi avstå från att använda kärnkraftverk vi redan har? Kärn-

kraften kan om några år ge oss lika mycket energi som all vattenkraft.

Använder vi våra kärnkraftverk minskar vi beroendet av oljeländerna. Och hushållar bättre med knappa resurser.

Alla måste ta ansvar

Vad vi än tycker om folkomröstningen så kommer den att äga rum den 23 mars. En seger för linje 3 skulle leda till ett helt annat, mycket sämre, samhälle. Därför är det så viktigt att alla utnyttjar sin rösträtt. Även om Du tycker att frågorna aldrig borde ha ställts.

**ENERGI
FÖR
SVERIGE**

1.

Fig. 6.5 'Should oil producing countries determine our future?' Line 1 advert. (Dagens Nyheter 20-03-1980:19)

Phrasing it as a question about control of the future with the proposition ‘Should oil-producing countries dictate our future?’, the advert asserts that Swedish-produced nuclear energy is the only way to maintain control of the national future. Oil dependency is raised as an issue not due to the pollutants it creates but due to the people who produce it. There are also possible undertones of political instability, Arab nationalism in the Middle East and the recurring theme of dependency versus freedom. This internalisation of international risk in the national picture is a powerful narrative which annexes existing perceptions of immigration, instability and vulnerability. The net result is the creation of a nation at risk, with nuclear energy as a defensive measure.

All three lines thus take insecurity about the future and create visions both alternative and dystopian to temporally place their arguments, arguing that their particular visions are required to meet the risks created by domestic, international and technological changes.

Information

Due in part to the aforementioned technical nature of the debate and the known unknowns of future visions, a huge number of texts discussing nuclear energy engage in a quest to introduce and legitimise ostensibly scientific information over the course of the referendum.

Rather than focusing on the ethics of nuclear energy, all sides instead produced huge numbers of statistics, experts and case studies to inform the public. This can be seen partly in the context of the government’s own commission on energy and the highly contested results of its study, as well as in discussions of the role of the media, information freedom and whether or not information provided by the state or any of the campaigns could be trusted.

This information discourse comes to the fore in advertising campaigns such as the aforementioned ‘Linje 2 ger besked’ and the discussion of the referendum in public fora. This is typified in a preview for a televised nuclear power debate just two days before the referendum in *Dagens Nyheter* with the title ‘The people’s last chance to get clued up’

⁴⁵(Fig. 6.6)

⁴⁵ Appendix II, text 459

ENERGI EXTRA ENERGI EXTRA

Energisk slutspurt i TV

Folkets sista chans att bli fullt kloka




Per Unckel




Lennart Daleus




Lars Orup




Rune Molin

I kväll har vi kanske sista chansen att bli fullt kloka på vad de tre linjerna vill med söndagens folkomröstning i kärnkraftsfrågan. Då ska en representant för vardera linje 1 och 2 samt två för linje 3 drabba samman i en samsänd diskussion i radio och TV under Lars Orups ledning. Linje 3 deltar, efter avsevärt förhållingshissel, med två representanter, eftersom den är den enda linje som förespråkar något annat än tolv reaktorer. Sändningen startar kl 20 i TV 1 och pågår med avbrott för Aktuellt och sport till kl 22.35.

Per Unckel, linje 1, mellanblå moderat riksdagsman från Finnsång, är tillsammans med landshövding Astrid Kristensson kampångsgeneral för linje 1. Hans karriär har helt gått

inom partiet — via Konservativ skolungdom till MUF-ordförandeposten, och sedan 1976 är han riksdagsman på heltid. "Eventuellt m's nye partisekreterare", numlas det.

Han har blivit moderaternas ledande energispecialist sedan Anders Wijkman gick över till Rada korset. Han är även ledamot i Statens kärnkraftsinspektion.

Sagt om motståndarna:

— Linje 3s program för avveckling av kärnkraften bygger på en kombination av räknelser och realistiska förhoppningar och dramatiska energihushållningsinsatser och snabbgenombrott för förnybara energikällor.

Rune Molin, linje 2, är 49 år och ordförande i arbetarrörelsens kampanjkommitté inom linje 2. Han är LO-senior, och hur den går i folkomröstningen kommer resultatet att i honom fullt utsläppas.

Han har nått makten i Organisations Sverige via den långa vägen som "ar storsatt med glesbe sökta moten", som Expressen uttrycker det.

Han har stort inflytande över avtalsrörelsen och sitter som LO:s representant i utredningen om löntagarfordärna. Hans namn dyker upp i diskussionerna om Gunnar Nilssons eventuella efterträda.

Sagt om motståndarna:

— Avgrundsvästern har fått för stort inflytande över linje 3s propaganda.

Lennart Daleus, linje 3, är kampanjledaren med den stillsammaste framtöningen. Han är ordförande i Folkkampanjen Nej till kärnkraft, en post som han fick utan konkurrens i den nio-åriga omröstningen.

Han har varit aktiv kärnkraftsmotståndare sedan 1973 och är verksam inom miljöförbundet Jordens Vänner som han var med om att grunda 1971.

Partipolitiskt obunden, anställd som informationssekreterare på Vetenskapsakademien, dit han också ibland återvänder efter omröstningen. Han är nästan jämnårig, 33 år, med sin motståndare på andra kanten. Per Unckel.

Sagt om motståndarna:

— Det är lyckligt att kalla nyinvesteringar i 15-miljardersklassen och än mer en förhållning av kärnkraftseffekten för avveckling.

Ulla Landsström, linje 3, är fyllda 70, men krutroten står ännu lika tät omkring henne som då hon var socialdemokratisk riksdagsledamot (1945–1970) och statsråd (1954–1960) och aldrig drog sig för att gå emot sina kolleger då hennes övertygelse så krävde.

Hon är nu en av de fyra vice ordförandena i Folkkampanjen Nej till kärnkraft.

Hon var på sin tid en av de ledande i kampen mot en svensk atombomb. Sedan hon drog sig tillbaka från den faktiska politiken har hon varit ordförande i Riksdagen och i Riksdagen drivit på det svenska v-hushushållat.

Three Mile Island

Fig. 6.6 A preview of television debates promising to inform people of the facts they need. (*Dagens Nyheter* 21-03-1980:6)

In such articles there is an implicit assumption that the referendum is rationally resolvable, despite the debate being deeply identity and values based in conceptual terms. At the same time, this false rationalism is not as paradoxical as it might first appear when rationalism is articulated as a value, as argued by MacIntyre (1985: 82)

Folkkampanjen- Nej till kärnkraft engaged heavily in the creation of new information to supersede that being produced by their opponents seeking to retain nuclear energy. One of the most common accusations, resurfacing multiple times across media, was the ‘fact’ that abandoning nuclear would lead to a 50 per cent increase in energy bills. Along with similar obstacles this was contested through both direct opinion pieces and through feeding stories to the media, as shown in Fig. 6.7, a factual news article that reports a scientific critique of the government’s own scientific reports.⁴⁶

As well as accusing nuclear supporters of being biased [*osaklig*] , *Folkkampanjen: Nej till kärnkraft* provide an expert who ‘calls into question’ the findings of the government commission. It then supplants it with new information saying ‘It is in fact more likely that prices [of nuclear] will continue to rise. Nuclear’s costs have increased 300 per cent in real terms during the 1970s.’ This ‘300 per cent’ can be contrasted with the 50 per cent figure leveled at the anti-nuclear campaign

There were also attempts to render apparently safe technologies more complex based on theoretical models and visual explanations, as shown in Fig. 6.8⁴⁷, depicting different potential scenarios for radioactive fallout to spread in the event of a reactor meltdown.

The graphic asserts that ‘in reality, spreading [of radioactive fallout] occurs as in picture B, i.e. cities ‘suck in’ the radioactive cloud.’ Such explanations, presented in a scientific tone, seek to remove some of the certainties of apparently objective information and create counter knowledge to nullify the negative use of statistics. To this end it is also possible to talk about a trend towards the technicalisation within the anti-nuclear campaign around the need for the provision of new information. The war to provide information to voters, and an apparent belief that objectivity was to be found, is further

⁴⁶ Appendix II, text 823

⁴⁷ Appendix II, text 167

exemplified by a Line 1 advert placed in a number of publications⁴⁸ with the slogan ‘The facts speak for Line 1’, followed by a list of nominal facts (Fig 6.9).

This advert in particular is notable for its reintroduction of the idea of oil dependency, whereby nuclear energy is portrayed as an emancipatory technology and integral to responsible and secure government. Energy dependency and liberation from it is a constant across the media of all three campaigns, with information discourses providing means to the ends of an independent energy economy. The idea of information as a good in itself in the debate is well summarised by the rhetorical question posed by Lönnroth et al. preceding the referendum; ‘How many of us know how a nuclear power station or wind power generator functions? Has such knowledge a value?’ (Lönnroth, Johansson, Steen: 156). The illusion of understanding the complexities of technology thus assume a value, even when the techno-scientific understanding enjoyed by the public is not the same knowledge possessed by the scientific community.

Security and risk

Variations on security are the third most numerous frame, ranging from reassuring texts about the safety of nuclear power or the feasibility of alternative energy to the threat of welfare collapse and the idea of the lights going out and homes not being heated. It is integrated with the dominant discussion of maintaining Sweden’s position as one of the world’s most developed countries and constant use of the language of security. In terms of what might be deemed moral characteristics, actors attempt to exhibit properties of responsibility, security and understanding of risk whilst portraying their opponents as lacking such qualities, meaning that they become central objectives within the debate.

The Line 1 campaign harnessed this in its ambition to continue nuclear development in slogans such as ‘Don’t put our security at risk’ [*Äventyra inte tryggheten*] (cf. Fig.6.10)

⁴⁸ Appendix II, text 444

Folkkampanjen:

El inte dyrare utan kärnkraften

Vilseledande och orealistiskt en osaklig skrämselpropaganda. Det säger Folkkampanjen Nej till kärnkraft om konsekvensutredningens och kemikontorets påståenden om att en avveckling av kärnkraften leder till en 50-procentig elprishöjning.

I det kärnkraftsfria samhället kommer merparten av elektriciteten från vattenkraftverk. Kol-kondenskraftverk kommer bara att bidra med en mindre andel.

Vattenkraft är billig och kolkraft är dyr. Konsekvensutredningen låter det framtida elpriset bestämmas av kostnaden för kolkraft. Folkkampanjen menar att man i stället kan utjämna priset genom att låta vattenkraftens övervinster betala en del av kostnaden för t.ex. kolkraft och vindkraft.

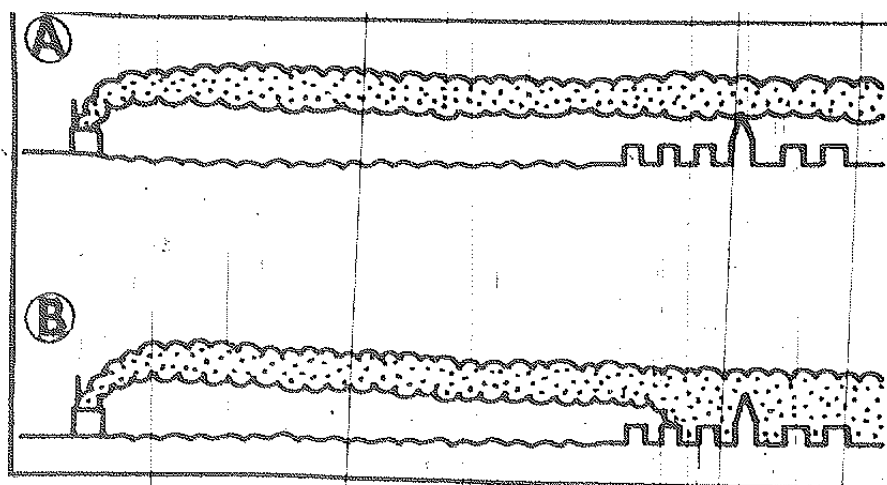
Konsekvensutredningens experter raknar med att el från koleldade kondenskraftverk skall kosta sex öre mer per kilowatt-timme än el från kärnkraftverk. De utgår då från att kärnkraften inte skall kosta mer än i dag.

Folkkampanjens expert Per Kägeson ifrågasatte vid en presskonferens på lördagen i Stockholm konsekvensutredningens antagande att prisstegringen på kärnkraft skall upphöra 1979.

Det troliga är i stället att priset fortsätter att stiga. Kärnkraftens kostnader har ökat med 300 procent i fast penningvärde under 1970-talet.

Folkkampanjen anser att mycket talar för att kärnkraften blir ännu dyrare på 1980-talet. Troligen blir det ingen prisskillnad mellan kärnkraft och kolkraft 1990. Därmed blir det heller ingen skillnad för sysselsättningen om man avvecklar kärnkraften.

Fig. 6.7 A news article presenting rival information on the implications of decommissioning for energy prices. (*Dagens Nyheter* 14-11-1979:6)



En radioaktiv "plym" förs med vinden över vatten och när en stad. I alla riskbedömningar har man antagit att utsläppet sprids som på bild A. I verkligheten sker ofta spridningen som på bild B, dvs städerna "sugar åt" sig det radioaktiva molnet.

Fig. 6.8 An illustration from *Dagens Nyheter* illustrating the 'reality' of radioactive fallout spread. (19-3-1980:2)

Fakta talar för linje 1.

Sverige behöver energi

Hälften av all elström används idag av industrin. Våra tunga beshärningar som stål och papper är de stora förbrukarna. Det är dessa industrier som redan idag har svårt med konkurrensen från utlandet. En snabbavveckling av kärnkraften skulle leda till en 50-procentig höjning av elpriset. Många företag skulle tvingas lägga ner. Jobben skulle gå förlorade.

□ Mellan 1955 och 1979 ökade Sveriges förbrukning av elström med 5,7% om

året. Den statliga konsekvensutredningen räknar med att även om vi använder våra kärnkraftverk för elförbrukningen bara öka med 3,7% per år under 80-talet. Också med kärnkraft måste vi hushålla.

Det är tillgången på billig energi som byggt upp Sverige. Också i framtiden behöver vi energi för att värma våra bostäder, klara våra transporter och hålla igång vår industri.

Minska beroendet av olja

□ Inget land i världen är så beroende av importerad olja som Sverige. 70 procent av vår energi kommer från oljan.

□ I år kommer våra kostnader för importerad olja att uppgå till 30 miljarder kronor. Det motsvarar 6 000 kronor per löntagare.

□ Allt fler i arabländerna kräver att oljeleveranserna till industriländerna ska

minskas. Kuwait har redan skurit ner produktionen med 25%. Samma krav har förts fram i Saudiarabien.

Världens och vår trygghet hänger idag på ett fåtal länder i Mellersta Östern. Det är helt enkelt nödvändigt att minska beroendet av oljan. Och det kan vi göra genom att använda våra kärnkraftverk.

Använd våra kärnkraftverk

□ De tolv svenska kärnkraftsreaktorerna kommer att ge oss nästan hälften av all elström — lika mycket som all vattenkraft.

□ Den statliga konsekvensutredningen räknar med att kostnaden för att snabbavveckla kärnkraften blir 75 miljarder kronor. Det motsvarar 20 000 kronor per löntagare.

□ Om vi avstår från kärnkraften måste vi bygga kolkraftverk. Kol är det miljöfarligaste av alla energikällor.

□ Solenergin kan bli framtidens energikälla. Men det tar många år innan solenergin kan användas i någon större utsträckning.

□ Kärnkraften är inte riskfri. Men kärnkraftens risker måste jämföras med andra energiformer. Över tusen människor dör varje år i kolgruvor. Ytterligare tusentals drabbas årligen av cancer på grund av föroreningar från eldning med kol och olja. Miljön förstörs och sjöarna försuras.

□ Om nej-sidan trodde på sin egen skrämselpropaganda skulle dom inte vara beredda att använda 6 kärnkraftverk i ytterligare 10 år.

Att avstå från att använda våra kärnkraftverk skulle inte bara ytterligare förvärra vårt lands ekonomiska problem. Det skulle också föra med sig ökade risker för hälsa och miljö.

**ENERGI
FÖR
SVERIGE**

1.

Fig. 6.9 Line 1 campaign advert asserting the primacy of facts. (*Dagens Nyheter* 18-03-1980:15)

Äventyra inte tryggheten

Sverige har problem med ekonomin. De kommande åren blir hårda. Alla måste hålla igen. Snabbavvecklar vi kärnkraften riskerar ekonomin att helt gå över styr. Många skulle få det sämre. Elransoneringar kan drabba oss redan inom några år.

Energibrist gör inte samhället bättre

Brist på energi skapar inte ett "mjukare" samhälle. Tvärtom. Sverige blir hårdare och fattigare utan den energi vi behöver. Det blir svårt att klara sociala åtaganden gentemot de sämst ställda.

Ett bristsamhälle drabbar de svaga hårdast.

Vi vill inte ha planhushållning

Inom linje 3 finns en stor grupp som ser en avveckling av kärnkraften som ett steg mot planhushållning.

Energibrist leder till ransoneringar, regleringar, statlig planering och styrning.

Vänsterpartiet kommunisternas föreordförande C-H Hermansson är nu vice ordförande i linje 3. Han har sagt att en seger för nej-sidan är första steget mot att Sverige tar adjö av det marknads-ekonomiska systemet.

Hermansson talar naturligtvis inte för alla som stödjer linje 3. Men det är svårt att vifta bort hans argument.

Ransonering utan kärnkraft

Linje 3 hävdar att det är lätt att avveckla kärnkraften. De försöker inbilla oss att det knappast skulle märkas om

vi slängde bort investeringar på över 40 miljarder kronor. Sanningen är ju att avstår vi från kärnkraften försvinner lika mycket energi som all vattenkraft.

I kärnkraftens ställe vill linje 3 sätta energikällor som vi ännu inte har. Det är därför en kärnkraftsavveckling leder till ransonering.

Använd våra kärnkraftverk

Faktum är att världen befinner sig i en oljekris. Och Sverige lever särskilt farligt. Ingen är så beroende av oljan som vi.

Använder vi våra kärnkraftverk klarar vi våra ekonomiska problem bättre. Vi minskar beroendet av olja och kol till nytta också för miljön. Och vi får tid att utveckla den förnybara energi Sverige under alla omständigheter behöver.

**ENERGI
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Fig. 6.10 A poster warning about the loss of stability and security with decommissioning. (*Dagens Nyheter* 18-3-1980:15)

The advert creates the spectre of energy rationing, Soviet-style planned economics and general social decline. Such adverts show how the campaign could take Sweden's relatively advanced position and use it as an argument for continuing with the same energy policy that had led the nation to that point, thus undoing the modern project of societal progress. It is also worth noting the collocation of security with the nation as a whole in the *Energi för Sverige* symbol, which features a Swedish flag, and throughout the media, relying on a soft nationalism. This is inherent to the energy security arguments of the domestic versus the international market and the latter's supposed dangerous volatility. This can be compared to the previously cited examples of collocation by Myerson and Rydin in energy nationalisms.⁴⁹

This was continued in a series of news reports and opinion pieces which stressed the catastrophic financial and social insecurity following a no vote with a high degree of absolutism. Early in the campaign, in October 1979, the no-leaning Svenska *Dagbladet* published a warning from the paper and pulp industry under the headline 'Nuclear – otherwise 24,000 jobs are in danger'⁵⁰. The summary text in the article's standfirst read:

The paper and pulp industry cannot cope with the 50 per cent increase in electricity prices which according to the predictions of [government] impact assessment will arise if nuclear power is rejected. 20 per cent of the industry would become unprofitable and go under. 24,000 positions would vanish. (*Svenska Dagbladet* 24-10-1979:25)

Such warnings of societal challenges feature throughout the pro-nuclear arguments. For its supporters, nuclear power becomes a guarantor of unbridled prosperity, whilst the risks lie not in technology but in the unknowns of a post-nuclear Sweden.

This can be contrasted with the dual security/risk problem faced and propagated by the centrism of Line 2, embodied in the cautionary slogan 'Decommission, but with sense' [*avveckla, men med förnuft*] which balances the disquiet about retaining nuclear energy with the perceived risks of immediate abandonment. A typical opinion piece for this viewpoint is reproduced in Fig 11, a debate article published in *Aftonbladet* and written by the Social Democratic member of parliament Bo Södersten, a supporter of Line 2. Whilst implicitly accepting the desirability of abandoning nuclear it moderates its position by creating issues of security and risk around alternative energy plans. It

⁴⁹ Cf. pp 22, 250

⁵⁰ Appendix II, text 494

assumes an ethos of responsibility in treading the middle ground in phrases such as ‘we cannot let core industries go under’ and ‘To create so many new jobs in such a competitive sector during the 1980s is absurd. A significantly increased level of unemployment would occur due to immediate decommissioning.’

This creates a challenge for the environmentalists of Line 3 and the wider anti-nuclear movement was to rearticulate narratives of security and risk in their own terms and illustrate that the real threat to the stability of society was both immediate and stemmed from the nuclear industry. This was achieved through the construction of nuclear energy as both a danger and an obstacle.

A repeated advert with the title ‘We do not need nuclear energy’⁵¹ was run in newspapers and magazines (Fig.6.12), attempting to delegitimise pro-nuclear alarmism and create a sense of certainty around decommissioning. The article makes direct comparisons between Yes and No votes in the referendum, including relative statistics on coal imports, energy use and the energy mix. It also includes the mundane assurance ‘Nobody need turn off the fridge or the washing machine.’ Its function is to allay fears, and it does so through assuming an ethos of responsible planning. The Line 3 campaign also embodies a dual responsibility similar to Line 2, but expressed in terms of planning for a purpose rather than compromise.

Such attempts to appear informed, objective and factual thus centre around, create and mirror a performed rationalism in which the highly politicised and values based approach to the nuclear question is presented from all sides as a technologically resolvable conflict.

⁵¹ Appendix II, text 896

Fem lögner om kärnkraft

Förnuft och fakta måste få råda över känslorna när vi väljer energipolitisk linje, skriver professor Bo Södersten, riksdagsman (s).

Det sprids idag många lögner om kärnkraft. Men i folkomröstningen är det naturligt att förespråka för Linje 3 främst utifrån på känslor. Känslor som sin plats men de kan inte helt få styra vårt handlande. Fakta måste få tala. Förnuft och fakta måste i längden få falla utslaget när vi väljer

på att stänga av dem. Men elkraften måste fram. Alternativen är olja och kol. Den absolut minsta kostnaden för el ur olja och kol är 15 öre per kilowattimme. 45 miljarder kilowattimmar kostar alltså $45 \times 0,15 = 6,75$ miljarder kronor. Den årliga merkostnaden för ett kärnkraftsstopp är minst $6,75 - 2,25 = 4,5$ miljarder kronor per år eller i runt tal 5 miljarder om året.

3. Det påstås: Det blir inga stigande elpriser om kärnkraften snabbavvecklas. Svar: Fel.

Använder vi de 10 aggregaten kan vi idag producera 110 miljarder kilowattimmar el till en årlig total kostnad av 10–11 miljarder kronor. Merkostnaden vid ett kärnkraftsstopp för att producera samma mängd el blir 5 miljarder. Totalkostnaden stiger med minimum 50 procent. Kostnader styr priser. Priserna kommer att stiga med minst 50 procent.

4. Det påstås: Vi behöver inte öka importen av olja och kol om kärnkraften försvinner. Svar: Fel.

Vi måste importera olja och kol för i runt tal 5 miljarder kronor om året för att få fram det minimum av el som en kärnkraftsavveckling fordrar. Vid stigande olje- och kolpriser blir den notan snabbt mycket dyrare.

5. Det påstås: Det blir ingen sysselsättningsminskning vid ett kärnkraftsstopp. Svar: Fel.

Vi behöver redan idag 100 000 nya jobb i industrin för att klara vår ekonomiska balans och minska utlandsupplåningen. Vid ett kärnkraftsstopp behöver vi få fram ytterligare 50 000 industrijobb för att skapa ökade exportprodukter till det värde av 5 miljarder som behövs för att klara merimporten av olja och kol. Dessutom räknar Konsekvensutredningen med att ytterligare 200 000 jobb slås ut från våra basindustrier. Att skapa så många nya jobb i den konkurrensutsatta sektorn under 80-talet är en orimlighet. En kraftigt ökad arbetslöshet blir följden av en snabbavveckling.

Bo Södersten

Inlägg

valet av energipolitik. Här är fem lögner om kärnkraften med några kommentarer:

1. Det påstås: Vi behöver ingen ökning av energiförbrukningen. Vi kan under 80- och 90-talen klara oss med vad vi förbrukar idag. Svar: Fel.

Enbart under 70-talet har elförbrukningen ökat med 20 miljarder kilowattimmar. Trots att vi haft lågkonjunktur och arbetslöshet. Under 80- och 90-talen kommer förbrukningen också att öka, trots intensiva sparatåtgärder. Det främsta skälet är att industrin måste få el för att kunna rationalisera sin produktion. Om vi inte någorlunda hänger med i den internationella konkurrensen kommer allt fler industrier att obönhörligt slås ut. Enbart en ny pappersmaskin drar 300 miljoner kilowattimmar el årligen. Vi kan inte låta basindustrierna slås ut genom att kraftigt fördyra deras elförsörjning.

2. Det påstås: Det kostar ingenting att snabbavveckla kärnkraften. Svar: Fel.

De 10 aggregat som idag är färdiga kan leverera 45 miljarder kilowattimmar el årligen. Vid en avstängning kan vi aldrig få tillbaka det kapital som är nedlagt i dem. Det enda vi kan spara är driftskostnaderna. De uppgår till 5 öre per kilowattimme. Vi kan alltså spara $45 \times 0,05 = 2,25$ miljarder

Fig. 6.11 'Five lies about nuclear power' by the Social Democrat Bo Södersten. (Aftonbladet 6-2-1980:2)

Democracy

By necessity, almost every single text produced in relation to the referendum has democracy as an implicit or explicit frame, whilst many of the texts also contain explicitly political content and are comparable in tone to election coverage and campaign materials. Criticism of the Centre party for example explicitly links the nuclear issue with electoral politics with accusations of weak leadership (as contrasted in the rhetoric of Fälldin and Palme themselves regarding the nuclear question), seeking to collocate party politics with nuclear politics and personality. This is illustrated in Fig. 6.13, an article with the headline ‘Fälldin offering up voters’.⁵²

The text constructs the Centre Party nuclear policy as a piece of populism incoherent with their political ideology of Nordic liberal agrarianism, contributing in part to the general Line 2 narrative that the nuclear question was inflated out of all proportion and lacked any coherent vision. It also discusses voters in the context of party politics despite being authored in the midst of the referendum campaign itself and with no general election officially set.

The democratic ethos is continued by the campaigning groups themselves according to their own political projects, so that the Moderate-led Line 1 emphasised the individual voter in its encouragement to vote, as shown in Fig. 6.14 under the headline ‘Now you’re the one making the choice.’, an advert ostensibly authored by the Moderate leader Gösta Bohman who is also pictured. Such presentation can also be contrasted with the political identities of Thorbjörn Fälldin and Olof Palme previously described. Line 2 meanwhile adopted both the language and social-democratic framework of the worker’s movement. Its motivations for individual choice were much the same as in a general election campaign agitating for a vote for the Social Democrats. The following excerpt is from an advert⁵³ run by Line 2 featuring an engineering technician’s testimony:

Of course I think that nuclear power should be decommissioned, but I am supporting Line 2 mostly for the care they show for the lowest income groups in society: Young families, the unemployed and people with different types of disability. These people would be hit hardest by immediate decommissioning. Line 2’s gradual decommissioning period of

⁵² Appendix II, text 78

⁵³ Appendix II, text 451

25 years provides the opportunity to make use of research and development of renewable energy alternatives. That is why I am voting Line 2. (*Dagens Nyheter* 19-03-1980)

In common with the notions of informed choice and security previously discussed, the rhetoric of line two mirrors the conceptual framework of Social Democracy and the ostensible altruism of the movement. This democratic framing becomes more nuanced in *Folkkampanjen- Nej till kärnkraft's* non-party campaign. Embodied in the very concept of a people's campaign is the idea of a popular democratic front representing the entire population. Media reports on *Folkkampanjen - Nej till kärnkraft* even construct them as a party-of-parties with the referendum being treated as an election. On the 7th October 1979 for example, in the early stages of the referendum process, a news article⁵⁴ appeared in *Svenska Dagbladet* with the introductory paragraphs:

Folkkampanjen Nej till Kärnkraft inleder nu sin "valrörelse" inför folkomröstningen.
- Vi måste stå enade och förstå de olika ideologiska utgångspunkterna vi kan ha sinsemellan, sa C.H. Hermansson (vpk) och fick medhåll av Karin Söder (c). (*Svenska Dagbladet* 0 7-10-1979)

The introduction to the campaign immediately identifies the cooperation between two supposed extremes, unifying them under the one banner of *Folkkampanjen – Nej till Kärnkraft* as a defacto party. The article in question is largely a report on the limited finances of the campaign, which actively contributes to the non-political citizen-based identity engineered by the organisation. One of the most striking things about the alliance is its apparent consensus in diversity, as illustrated by the reassurance of both communist and strongly liberal voices in the same text. The groups listed as being part of the campaign include environmentalists, Social Democrats, Communists, Liberals and Centre Party members. Such diversity of character and identity allowed the group to claim to be representative of people, not of parties, but equally so the movement itself acted and was made to act as a political party, assuming the character of a political party through media presentation. Moreover, many of the campaign's supporters and actors would go on to form the avowedly non-aligned Green Party (Bolin: 107-108). This is, it can be argued, illustrative of the need to integrate the anti-nuclear movement into the pluralist Swedish political system.

⁵⁴ Appendix II, text 475

AFTONBLADET 4.1 1980

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FÄLLDIN BJUDER PÅ VÄLJARE

CENTERPARTIET har under Thorbjörn Fälldins ledning framträtt med två skilda ideologier och i praktisk politik fullföljt dessa linjer i två enhetsfronter — regeringssamarbetet med moderaterna och antikärnkraftskampanjen ihop med vpk.

Det konservativa draget i partiets politik och framtoning dominerar inom områden, som är särskilt betydelsefulla för konservativa väljare — ekonomin med makt- och fördelningsfrågorna, kultursynen och moraluppfattningar. I dessa avseenden är det numera svårt att skilja centern från moderaterna.

Det samhällsförändrande inslaget i centerpolitiken har helt kommit att knytas till kärnkraftsmotståndet. Här har partiet sökt frammana bilden av ett alternativt, småskaligt, energisnålt, resurs-hushållande och mänskligt mjukt samhälle. Gränsen mot vpk har i dessa delar suddats ut allt mer.

Naturligtvis är dessa två tendenser i centerns politik oförenliga i ideologiskt hänseende. De tilltalar också helt skilda väljargrupper. Detta är förklaringen till centerns problem: väljarförlusterna och svårigheterna att bilda en hållfast regeringskoalition.

KLYFTAN ÄNDA UPP i partiledningen mellan de som fäster stora förhoppningar vid Olof Johansson och anhängarna till Anders Dahlgren är ett uttryck för denna spänning mellan samhällsförändrare (som kan tänka sig samarbete med arbetarrörelsen) och konservativa (som föredrar borgerligt samarbete).

Balansgången inom partiet leder till fortsatta förluster bland väljarna. Ingen av de två ideologierna är lika trovärdig hos centern som hos de två partier, som renodlat dem — moderaterna respektive vpk.

Detta sammanfaller med att frågor om livskvalitet, ekologi och miljö inordnas i den traditionella högervänsterskalan. Väljarna börjar genomskåda centerns osammanhängande politik.

DETTA FRAMGÅR delvis av DN/IMU-mätning



gen av centerväljarnas val av "näst bästa parti". Trots att överströmningen från centern till moderaterna redan varit stor, har 44 procent av centerväljarna — nästan varannan — moderaterna som första alternativ.

Med denna öppna sluss mot höger har centern undvikit konfrontation med moderaterna och i stället valt ett samarbete som gett höjd legitimitet och anständighet åt en röst på moderaterna. Konservativa väljare kommer att fortsätta att strömma från centern till moderaterna.

Samma taktik har förvånande nog tillämpats mot vpk. Med den gemensamma kampanjen för avveckling på 10 år underlättar centern för miljöaktivister att också i allmänna val lägga sin röst för vpk. Detta kommer förmodligen att ske i den takt som kärnkraftsmotståndarna inser att centern inte är berett att föra en ekonomisk politik som är avpassad efter en snabb avveckling av kärnkraften.

Med Folkkampanjen mot kärnkraft trodde sig centern få en armé av aktivister för kommande valrörelser. Det kan mycket väl visa sig att vpk:s uträkning med samarbetet slår bättre in. Aktivisterna strömmar över till vpk.

DET ÄR GENERÖST AV centern att bjuda på denna överströmning av väljare mellan blocken.

Fig. 6.13 Newspaper editorial attacking Thorbjörn Fälldin for his political weakness and coalition. It claims the Prime Minister is actually strengthening the Left party (*Aftonbladet* 04-01-1980:2)

Nu är det Du som bestämmer

Söndagens folkomröstning är viktigare än andra politiska val. Ditt beslut kan Du inte ta tillbaka. Även om Du ångrar Dig.

Världens oljekris slår hårdare mot Sverige än mot andra länder. Våra jobb. Priser. Hyror. Skatter. Och vi lever under ständigt hot om höjda oljepriser och stoppad tillförsel.

Vi måste skära ner vår oljeförbrukning. Så snabbt som möjligt.

Vi måste använda våra kärnkraftverk. En snabbavveckling hotar vår framtid. Vår ekonomi och vårt folks välfärd. Jag vet vad jag talar om.

Kärnkraften är säkrare och mer miljövänlig än andra energiformer. Den smutsar inte ner vår luft och vårt vatten. Den utsätter inte människorna för dagliga hälsorisker.

Många tycker inte om folkomröstningen. Men nu har vi den. Nu måste vi ta ställning. Du får inte sitta hemma. Du har en skyldighet gentemot Dig själv, Dina barn och Ditt lands framtid. En röst på linje 1 löser inte alla problem. Men ett starkt stöd för linje 1 ökar våra möjligheter att klara svårigheterna.

Det är allas vår framtid det gäller.



Gösta Bohman



**ENERGI
FÖR 
SVERIGE** 1.

Fig. 6.14 *Energi för Sverige* advert adopting a liberal democratic identity. The advert shows Moderate party leader Gösta Bohman. (*Aftonbladet* 22-03-1980:21)

Many of these democratic aspects of the nuclear campaign can be encapsulated by Gunnar Myrdal's observation that 'the nuclear controversy can thus be seen as a controversy as much over the distribution of power over technological choice in general as over a particular technology' (Lönnroth et al. 1980: ix).

Gender

The anti-nuclear movement was characterised by a clear split along gender lines, and the high incidence of female voices in *Folkekampanjen – Nej till kärnkraft* means that gender cannot be ignored as a primary identity within the nuclear debate. Both before and since the referendum, women have been significantly more averse to nuclear energy than men in Sweden (Oskarson, 1990) (Holmberg 2009:7) with, a clear collocation in both conservative and progressive gender narratives between nuclear opposition and the concerns of women. Much of the language employed by the movement focused specifically on what can be described as women's issues, such as family, and the ability of energy to create gender equality was significant topic around which to debate the merits of the technology itself.

This included appeals from the totemic feminist Alva Myrdal, wife of Gunnar Myrdal, through both events and opinion pieces. Similarly, the feminist and dramatist Eva Moberg authored several articles in *Dagens Nyheter* on the subject⁵⁵. A sub group within the general campaign was the organisation 'Women against nuclear power' [*kvinnor mot Kärnkraft*], publishing books and pamphlets which sought specifically to relate anti-nuclear campaigning to the wider women's peace movement under the guidance of writer and academic Maria Bergom Larsson. (Bergom Larsson 1980). Although the content was often not always overtly feminist, it integrated the anti-nuclear campaign into the meta-narrative of the woman's movement through the co-option of identities and traditions. There also appeared articles across a range of media looking at the role of women in the anti-nuclear campaign.

The article shown in Fig. 6.15 was published in *Dagens Nyheter* on the 8 December 1979⁵⁶ and reports on a new women's campaign 'Lucia against nuclear power.' The use of a martyred Christian saint and a longstanding symbol of feminine virtue in Sweden is clear, whilst it is juxtaposed with the more contemporary testimony of an 'LO-woman',

⁵⁵ Appendix II, text 383.

⁵⁶ Appendix II, text 272

a working woman who is part of the union movement. The 'LO-woman' asserts that rejecting nuclear power would be a means of transformation, and by extension emancipation. The woman in question, Wanja Lundby-Wedin, would subsequently go on to work as both chairperson of LO and a leading member of the Social Democrats.

Since the 1950s women had featured prominently in the movement against atomic weapons (Andersson 2003: 65), whilst female engagement in the peace movement stretched back further still. Gender thus also became a dividing line in the social democratic movement, with one of Sweden's first female cabinet ministers, 1950s peace veteran Ulla Lindström, acting as a public voice for Line 3 after publicly disagreeing with Olof Palme and the Social Democrat leadership. As the face of the 'Social Democrats against Nuclear Power' [*Socialdemokrater mot kärnkraft*] she was a prominent voice in the debate. An advert from the group emphasises this, utilising the existing Social Democratic anti-atomic weapon narrative identities and language in the context of the (arguably) unrelated debate on energy (Fig. 6.16)⁵⁷

It employs soft, feminine language including terms such as 'fellow human' and is integrated with the wider movement toward a 'society of solidarity'. Moreover, Lindström's open letter insists that it is 'in tune with the workers' movement's values', one of which was gender equality. The adoption of such a values set is symptomatic of the wider construction of societal ethics as justification for the abandonment of nuclear energy. This was then continued into the attempts at identity formation carried out by the embryonic Swedish Green Party following the relative stalemate of the nuclear referendum, with the promotion of gender balance and the wider influence of women in society becoming a primary characteristic of the early Green project (Miljöpartiet 1982:123)

⁵⁷ Appendix II, text 190

just nu
8/12
1979

Utrötning
I Birgitta var det debatt på Sida om överbefolkning i utlandet. Om vissa dess inte hade ramlat av för länge sen skulle det ha varit då. Och så vidare omkring flera gånger innan den tag sig till i dammen.

— Det här med befolkning började man här med redan på 1700-talet i England, sa Erlend Holten. I stället för att skapa ett direkt samband är det klart att man kan göra sig en bild om alla länder, så ser det ut överlag.

I Indien till exempel nu stiger 30 miljoner kvinnor. Senast skedde det med ökad under utvecklingsland. Det kommer naturligtvis att bli liksom tidigare. För de fattigaste länder på att ha barn. Barnen "finns sig" redan i förskola.

— I stället för att sätta faktorn bakom på att utvecklingen ska bli bättre. Sida har redan, som uttryck, så det är en skönhet till utvecklingslanderna.

Lagar som lagar
Men det här betyder Sida skiljer inte ett skott av. Carl Wahner och Sig. Berthelsson och prästerna som jag, sågningen — med vilken erfarenhet för barn än så — och lagarna och moraliska regler.

När i såväl som den Sida skiljer Fredrik Mikael och Sida, och även folk som inte tycker som barn. Men då hade jag redan sagt på Sida. För Wahner sa: — Vi har ju lagar som tillhörning. Vi har ju lagar som att inte lida barn?

Viktoria

UTFÖRSÄLNING
Färger — Vägghmaterial
Vardagar 9.30 — 18. Lördagar 8.30 — 14
SÖNDAGSÖPPET 11 — 16
NORRTULLSGATAN 61
Båttententor 1950
Väggfärg 90%
45% 51%
Plasttappert 20%
3.75 5.75 14.50
Lackfärg 13% till
Vatrumstapet 45% till
Badrumstapet 45% till
BOLJENS
FÄRGSHOP
Norrtullsgatan 61 (vid Norrtull)

Con moto
Sank-ta Lu- c i a ljus gla da Fi- a
Lys nu upp nat-ten med sol vind och vat-ten

Kämpa nu kvin-nor nej ska klart vin-na
kärnkraft för-svin-na kärnkraft för-svin-na

Luciakv mot kärnkraft
12 december 1979
Söndag - kl. 11.00 - 12.00

Nytt kvinnotåg — Lucia mot kärnkraft

Den 12 december blir det luciatåg med facklor, sång och dans mot kärnkraften över hela landet. I spetsen för tåget går kvinnor från olika politiska partier. Här finns folkpartister och socialdemokrater, kvinnor som alltså går emot partiledningens linje. En av dem som går i täten för tåget är Wanjia Lundby, fackligt aktiv socialdemokrat.

Ende vi säger NEJ — till kärnkraft
Och NEJ-et rullar upp med lysaren i Toluksens- nopolets stora lokal på Söder i Stockholm. Det är kvinnor och barn som övar sånger till det stora luciatåget. Varje litet barn får en julgranslampa ut på Maria Bangata. Men lyssnar man nog här på att det inte är "Stallan var en ställdräng" och "Midnattslådan" som sjungs. Det är bara samma melodier.

Bakom luciatåget står "Kvinnor mot kärnkraft" som står bakom den stora demonstrationen mot kärnkraft den 29 augusti. Demonstrationen för utveckling och i stället för kärnkraft.

Nej-et rullar runt i salen när kvinnorna övar för Luciatåget.

Foto: LASSE GROSS

LO-kvinnor: "Nej" - chans till förändring

— Jag är socialdemokrat och därför säger jag nej till kärnkraft. Jag vet att jag har många socialdemokrater bakom mig. Det säger Wanjia Lundby, fackligt aktiv i Kommunalarbetsförbundet. Ett nej till kärnkraft stämmer bättre med partiets ideologi, menar hon. — Men ett nej skulle antagligen sätta bort många av dem som står på socialdemokraternas men som inte är socialister. Där sitter partiledningens och LO:s rädsla.

— Det är mycket negativt till det så. Slutligen alternativet. Om det är värt att avveckla de sex reaktorer vi har på ön är, har vi inte till det. Ett nej till kärnkraften är det som vi vill ha. — Jag tänkte inte det här, jag kan förstå. Men jag är socialdemokrat och jag står på att partiet vet vad det gör.

— Och jag tycker inte att jag kan säga till min bror att en och till kommande generationer. — Ja, ja det säger sig nog att om vi har inget annat, så är kärnkraften ett alternativ. — Vi har inte fått information, kanske om vilka följder kärnkraften har för oss vanliga människor. Och det talar bara om det som kärnkraften skulle ge oss utan kärnkraft.

— När behandlingen sedan följer så övergår man partiet. Tänk vilken diskussion det var om en grupp 12 av oss. Nu ska vi på några få dagar ta ställning till en fråga som många inte alls kan.

DET GÄLLER DEJ
Det gäller de och det gäller mig, det gäller en barn och våra barn, det gäller he-la jorden, barnens barn och barnens barns barn
slå nej, slå nej

— Jag tycker inte att jag kan säga till min 4-åring om att "det löser sig" som så småningom med säkerhetsproblemen", säger Wanjia Lundby.
Foto: ROLAND JANSSON

Fig. 6.15 Report from *Dagens Nyheter* on female opposition to nuclear energy featuring the voice of an 'LO-woman'. (08-12-1979:29)



Socialdemokrater mot kärnkraft



Kära medmänniska!

Jag ber dig: Avstå inte från att göra din röst hörd i morgon.

Vi står vid ett vägskäl. Framtiden kommer ANTINGEN att präglas av mera kärnkraft, ökande strålningsrisker och en arbetsmarknad där automationen blir lönsammare än mänsklig arbetskraft och jobben alltså färre.

ELLER så blir framtiden mindre hotfull, känns mera hoppfull och mobiliserar flera hundra tusenden unga i ansträngningarna att bygga ett gott och solidariskt samhälle. För mig – socialdemokrat sedan 50 år – är det senare alternativet i fin samklang med arbetarrörelsens värderingar. Den framtiden tillgodoses bäst med linje 3 som säger nej till kärnkraft!

Ulla Lindström

Hur blir det med...

jobben?



Satsningen på hushållning och förnyelsebara energikällor kommer vid en avveckling med linje 3:s program att ge 10 000-tals nya jobb. Det ger nytt liv åt skogslåten. Bygget av kraftvärmeverk, mottrycksanläggningar och vindkraftverk ger arbete inom Asea, Stal-Laval, No-hab, de mekaniska verkstäderna samt en rad byggnads- och entreprenadföretag.

Lars Karlsson
LO-tidning

miljön?



Minns-du debatten om asbest, PVC-plasten? Om hormoslyret? Makten och experterna sa ofarligt. Ofarligt – exakt samma argument användes de sk experterna idag om kärnkraften. Lita på din egen erfarenhet – lita på dig själv. Röstja nej.

Marit Poulsen
författare

samhället?



Ett nej till kärnkraft är ett viktigt steg bort från en teknisk kultur som innehåller alltmer oroande drag. Den kulturen är expertdominerad, svärbegriplig och sårbar. Ett nej till kärnkraft är en röst för en mer demokratisk teknik och för ett mjukare samhälle.

Lars Ingelstam
Broderikapörelsen

Säg nej till en utbyggnad av kärnkraften!
Välj linje 3!

Fig 6.16. An advert by Social Democrats Against Nuclear Power fronted by veteran Social Democrat Ulla Lindström. (Aftonbladet 22-03-1980:38)

Other frames

There are a huge number of subsets utilised across the nuclear debate, not least the use of economy not merely as a topic but as a textual ethos in itself through the adoption of an economic approach to the nuclear debate. Command of economics is transformed into a characteristic of the differing sides, manifesting itself in the ethos of competence and stability. This is typified by accusations from the Line 1 and 2 campaigns such as the accusing opponents of economic illiteracy, linked intimately to the rational information discourses mentioned previously. Most crucially, the official Social Democratic line is economically reductive, whereas the anti-nuclear campaign makes efforts to develop an alternative economism.

Environmentalism though is largely absent. Although there are underlying existential questions present in many texts about the nature of society, the conventional environmentalist standpoint is limited and occurs as much in pro-nuclear arguments as from the No side, including warnings about the large scale destruction from biofuel forests [*energiskogar*] and the destruction wrought by pollution from coal and oil. This is not to say that environmentalists were not a driving force in the anti-nuclear movement, but the larger narratives of the referendum move above and beyond purely environmental discussions, with the environmentalist as character and characteristic playing a minor role.

6.9 Summary

The referendum on nuclear energy was merely one chapter in a far larger (and still ongoing) discussion of nuclear energy in Sweden. In the context of the referendum itself, however, it is possible to discern certain strategies from both sides, and particularly from the anti-nuclear movement aimed at re-arranging the discursive landscape. As is discussed in the concluding chapter, this also has an impact on the nature of contemporary Swedish environmentalism through the formation of newer composite identities and ethos sets. In the first instance, however, focus is placed specifically on the general characteristics of the nuclear debate and the tangible outcomes it created.

Group identity as voting identity

In both debate articles and news reports there is a huge emphasis on political identity and personality. The struggle to assert and preserve the unity and identity of the Social Democratic movement led to perpetual restatement of the values and aims of the labour

movement in relation to the referendum. This is particularly evident in the comparisons both direct and indirect between Olof Palme and Thorbjörn Fälldin, as well as in the unity of the Social Democrats and the security they could offer relative to the coalition of both the Line 3 campaign and the government of the time.

All of the campaigns engaged in populist approaches, employing anecdotalism and attempting to appeal to core commons values. This is reflected partly in the general homogeneity of the debate and the remarkable crossover between different referendum campaigns, but also in the adoption of sub frames such as anti-capitalism, anti-Americanism and xenophobia in relation to events such as the nuclear emergency at Harrisburg, the emphasis on instability of oil exports and occasional references to nuclear weapons. *Folkkampanjen – nej till kärnkraft* can even be described as an example of enviro-populism which exploited mass-appeal and actively pushed the issue up the agenda. This is equally evident in the range of textual labels yielded by the quantitative data from the nuclear study in which identity and politics are prominent as characteristics.

An acceleration of techno-scientific knowledge

The referendum on nuclear energy took what was, by all normative considerations, an environmental issue and placed it firmly at the heart of a variety of other discourses, to the point that what might have been a relatively straightforward choice in energy policy behind closed doors became a very public battle for the future of the nation. The efficacy of the ultimately unsuccessful Line 3's campaign stemmed partly from its to ability develop new relational narratives and articulate opposition to nuclear energy in terms of a developmental progression towards sustainability and a more cohesive and economically successful society.

The challenges it faced were almost insurmountable, confronted with the traditional conservative narratives of the establishment and the institutionalised narratives of Social Democracy and the trade union movement, there was a requirement to forge new and distinctive identities which nonetheless appealed to a wider public than the anti-nuclear movement alone. This was achieved in part via the creation of alternative visions of prosperity, but also through rapid production of new knowledge to meet the demands

of scientific argument and an emphasis on the reliability of scientific information relative to political campaigning.

The campaign also signaled a breakdown and re-writing of some of the established political narratives of the 1970s, ultimately leading into a new political discourse on environment in the 1980s involving an explicitly environmental political party, the Greens, which gave voice to the alternativism and future vision begun in the context of *Folkkampanjen – Nej till kärnkraft*. Per Gahrton's initial Green manifesto released later the same year even included temporality in its title 'Sweden needs a party of the future' (Gahrton 1980) (Wiklund: 293), whilst an overview of all of the campaigning groups and media coverage illustrates a growing desire to appear green as part of general political discourses, as is further discussed in the concluding chapter with reference to the convergence of radical environmentalism and the ecological modernisation of both socialist and liberal political projects.

6.10 Reading the debate

Most interestingly in terms of the identification of a normative ethics, many of the ethical frameworks characterising the nuclear debate occur not in the form of environmental ethics but through the existing prism of issues such as equality, social solidarity, liberal democracy and responsibility. These appear in tandem with a remarkable faith in the role of information in the democratic process whereby ethical approaches determine desirable outcomes and technological choices are established as tools in their achievement. One of the outcomes of this is the intentional application of value to different technologies and the temporal positioning of technological alternatives in the context of the debate, so that nuclear power is by turns the technology of tomorrow (Line 1), today (Line 2) and yesterday (Line 3). This is summarised by Ylva Uggla (2002:39) in her assertion that 'The endeavor to meet the political requirements for safe, final disposal takes place in a society with a contested modernity', whereby the notions of what is and is not modern, or what will become modern is subject to rival processes of narrative building around a central, inherently modern and visionary ethos.

The nuclear referendum cannot be claimed as a victory for the environmental movement, but through knowledge creation and narrative innovation it was able to impact on both politics and energy policy in a meaningful manner. Gunnar Myrdal's

assertion that the nuclear question had as much to do with future agency over the type of society Sweden might become as with the merits of nuclear power itself finds its strongest proof in the instrumental values and identities outlined above. It also provided a more significant challenge to established schools of political thought than had previously been the case, and its legacy was the creation of new and enduring concepts in Swedish public life. One of its most important products would be the political Green movement, developing a new political identity, as is further discussed in the following chapter. As Detlef Jahn (1992:395) illustrates, however, a peak in opposition to nuclear energy before and after the referendum was mirrored by a continued ambivalence in either direction amongst a sizeable proportion of the general population. Instead the new social movements were able to manifest themselves within political structures (*ibid*:404), and by extension existing traditions.

Moreover, in its wake it illustrates how external goods such as economy and nuclear disarmament can, in time, come to be replaced by internal goods through the creation of a normative pattern of nuclear opposition. This can be best seen in the importance attached by supporters of the Line 3 campaign to the symbolic value of alternative energy as a metonym for an alternative society in which the original justification for being alternative (fear of nuclear technology) fades and the idea of alternativism as a quality in itself becomes a good of its own. The nuclear debate more than either of the other case studies in this thesis creates the environmentalist and her world view as a peripheral character, but illustrates that the goods of environmentalism can be made central to the self-understanding of society and the way in which it understands its future development as well as constructing its past. As society continually transitions and decides between one vision of the future and another, the nuclear debate is an example of actors attempting to engineer a smooth progression within the reflexive phases of modernity and reconstruct their own narrative selves accordingly with a degree of success. By constructing a future in the present, and through articulation of different ideas of the nation's future from a singular past, the nuclear debate illustrates the existence of divergent but complementary patterns of ethics and instrumental values.

7. The Stockholm City Bypass

7.1 Introduction

The Stockholm City Bypass, *Förbifart Stockholm* in Swedish, is a multi-billion kronor engineering scheme to dig the world's longest urban road tunnel and adjoining motorways under the Mälaren lake to the west of Stockholm. The debate on the merits of the project is still underway, though preliminary work has already been carried out and its ultimate fate and form depends on the outcome of financial reports from the Swedish government at the time of writing.

The environmental challenges of the project are many, in terms not only of accounting for the increased traffic it would generate but also through the destruction of green space, woodland and the complications of tunneling under a lake system. Since 2007, the political situation was further complicated by it being orthodoxy in government policy that the project should be paid for using a congestion tax designed to reduce inner city car traffic (Richardson, Isaksson, Goldberg:62). As such, the project and its supporters presented an apparent paradox its aims to achieve the good of reducing inner city congestion and improving the environment, whilst simultaneously increasing motoring overall and creating several new 'losers' in terms of communities in proximity to the project (*ibid.*) Understanding how such a paradox could exist is key to explaining the co-existence of environmentally destructive policy and multiple 'green' values.

The ultimate outcome of the bypass project is, however, of secondary importance; its most important feature in this instance is the role it played in the 2010 general elections to the Swedish parliament and local authorities. It became one of the defining issues in a close-run election campaign which was narrowly won by the Alliance for Sweden grouping of centre-right parties at both national and local level, including an increased role and profile for the Swedish Green Party as the strongest voice of opposition (Länsstyrelsen i Stockholm Län 2010)

Moreover, it provides an example of the evolution of both party based Green and societal green politics in Sweden in the post-ecological modernisation period described by Hermansson (2002), Lundqvist (2003:1) and Wiklund (2006:311). It provides an example of a struggle between three narratives of modernity, a liberal-conservative

‘greening’ of existing practice, a hybridity of social-democratic and neo-liberal approaches to the values that dictate shared physical space born from ideas about urban connectivity and development, and an evolved green eco-modernism.

This chapter begins by outlining the background of the project and of the 2010 Swedish parliamentary and local elections, in the context of which the study was carried out. It briefly discusses the economics and environmental impact of Förbifart Stockholm as established by the official assessment of the scheme and attempts to give a basic outline of the contemporary complex state of Swedish electoral politics. As in the previous two chapters, it applies the TODA analytical method to articles taken from the six month period approaching election day on the 19th September, looking at two sets of text which are both reflective of some of the wider debate and examples of its interdiscursivity in the public arena over time. These consist of a pro-road text by a property developer which is then answered in by the Green municipal politician Yvonne Ruwaida. This is followed in Analysis 3 by one of the most extensive and important texts in the entire debate, a corporately authored debate article by the Alliance for Sweden and signed by the leaders of the four ruling political parties, accompanied in analysis 4 by a reply from the Social Democratic columnist Eva Franchell. These four analyses are then built upon to look at the central textual identities formed by the entire corpus as catalogued in the database in Appendix II. This discussion addresses central characteristics such as responsibility, necessity, modernity, consensus and democracy.

This chapter also takes a particular interest in the evolution of the Swedish Green Party in the debate and the adoption of a set of modernistic and eco-modernistic values as a central identity, including the identification and use of the modern as external goods in agitating for more environmental norms. This is tied to a discussion regarding the relative absence of traditionally environmentalist ethos in the debate and the ongoing attempts to transform the agenda of the political Green movement in Sweden through the cooption of modernity and social vision as a strategy to temporally situate different political agenda. This is closely related to competition in the narrative creation of a complete urban and regional vision between parties of left and right in order to justify the policies of the respective political and environmental groups partaking in the debate and the existence of a Moderate utopia of the everyday. It concludes by speculating on the extent to which resistance to the bypass project can be seen to have established new

forms of practice and how it can be interpreted as an instance of the engineering of a specifically eco-modernistic set of instrumental values by actors with agendas above and beyond the fate of the project itself.

7.2 Förbifart Stockholm and the 2010 elections

A bypass for the centre of Stockholm had in one form or another been on the drawing board since Stockholm's radical 'City 67' plan of 1967 (Generalplanberedningens expertutskott 1967) envisaged a series of motorways circling Stockholm to provide easier car access into and around the city centre and the suburbs. Stockholm is naturally separated by an archipelago of small islands that links the Baltic Sea and the Mälaren lake system, and successive transport plans have sought to address this. Original plans envisaged the centre of Stockholm being the primary beneficiary, but this has subsequently changed somewhat toward to creation of an interconnected city region utilising the same basic infrastructure.

Having stalled, in the early 2000s the project was re-established with the renamed 'Förbifart Stockholm' and an option was drawn up more or less in line the final plans (Vägverket 2003), envisaging a motorway link from the Kungens Kurva interchange on the southside of the Mälaren lake to the suburb of Hjulsta in the north. This is illustrated in Fig. 7.1.

The official stated aims of the project (Stadsbyggnadskontoret 2009: 7) were to:

Tie together the northern and southern parts of the region and make it possible to travel between them without putting pressure on Stockholm's centre, increase space on the roads into the city, improve opportunities via more even access to develop a single work and property market for the whole region, easier access to Arlanda airport from South Stockholm, facilitate a multi-centred region, create conditions for regional development and strong growth, and create a bypass for long distance traffic.

The stated aspirations of the project were different to those given in the original 67 plan, which pre-dated the regionalisation of the Mälardalen valley and sought specifically to enable access into the city centre for road vehicles without the desire to characterise the road as a national project.

The proposed project became a dividing line between the main parties of Swedish politics and the more ecologically radical Left and Green parties, accentuated by splits

within the Social Democrats and a wish to win back voters lost in the previous 2006 elections. . This was further complicated by the continued polarisation of Swedish politics into two electoral blocs since the 2006 election of the Alliance for Sweden, composed of Moderate, Christian Democrat, Centre and Liberal partners. In response to the formal alliance established by the right, the Swedish Green, Left and Social Democratic parties had formed their own electoral grouping, the Red-Greens [*De Rödgröna*] to fight the election. This entailed a number of joint election promises, one of which was the inclusion of a referendum pitching the construction of Förbifart Stockholm against massive investment in public transport using the receipts from Stockholm's previously introduced congestion charge (Socialdemokraterna 2010). This was subsequently used by the Alliance for Sweden and the Moderate party in particular as an election tool, although it is not possible to confidently make conclusions on extent it impacted in their election victory overall. There were a number of other important national questions at the time including youth unemployment and tax cuts which featured prominently. The Stockholm region as a whole, however, was decisive in the Alliance election victory (Valmyndigheten 2010) due to the size and importance of its electoral region and the uniform voting patterns elsewhere in the country.

The bypass debate is of interest because of the way in which it is explicitly used in the context of election to a legislative assembly and the superimposition of party politics onto developmental debates. It also provides an insight into the public image and conceptual position taken by the Swedish Green Party more generally in its contemporary form. The election was also notable for the Swedish Green Party achieving 14% of the vote in the city elections and 7.3% nationally, both of which at the time represented the best ever result for the party (Valmyndigheten 2012) and the wider political ecology movement in Sweden.



Fig. 7.1 Map from Vägverket showing proposed route of Förfart Stockholm in red. (Vägverket 2014)

7.3 The textual corpus

The textual corpus constructed around the Förbifart Stockholm debate and the 2010 elections draws on a wide range of article types from the four core titles of this study. As is subsequently expanded upon in the discussion of the cumulative frames yielded by Förbifart Stockholm, this expands well beyond environmental topicality and into many different aspects of the daily news agenda and the electoral process. Using the electronic archive service Retriever, the corpus is a comprehensive catalogue of every single text published in one of the four media outlets between 19th March 2010 and 19th September 2010 when the election took place. There was also significant coverage of the Förbifart Stockholm question in the local press, including the free newspaper *Metro* and the syndicated local newspaper *Mitt i*, which publishes targeted editions in the communities directly affected by the road project. For reasons of consistency and practicality, however, these two sources were not included in the corpus for Förbifart Stockholm.

The diverse debate articles and opinion pieces dealing directly with the project form the basis of the four close analyses outlined below, making use of both aligned and politically non-aligned but sympathetic authors. They are illustrative of different key values utilised in the discussion of the road project, in particular the reflexive use of the modern, metaphors of connectivity and growth and the rearticulation and resurrection of the *framstegsberrätelse* in new forms.

7.4 Analysis 1: Necessity and growth

The first text analysed here⁵⁸ is by a property owner, Christer Jansson. He is a representative of the industry body *Fastighetsägarna*. The organisation is an industry body which represents landlords and property owners in Sweden, with one of its explicit stated aims being the influence and formation of public opinion.⁵⁹ Published in the 'Brännpunkt' [lit. burning point] debate section of *Svenska Dagbladet* under the title 'A growing Stockholm needs a bypass', it is intended as a repost to a statement made by the Green politician Yvonne Ruwaida during a public event, the Stockholm Green Festival. The third stage of this interaction, in which Ruwaida replies to Jansson, is featured in Analysis 2.

⁵⁸ Appendix II, text 619

⁵⁹ <http://www.svefast.se/om-oss-se>

Analysis 7.1

Växande Stockholm behöver Förbifart

Förbifart Stockholm är, sa Yvonne Ruwaida (MP) under en debatt på Stockholm Green Festival i Kungsträdgården i förra veckan, en rättvisefråga. De som gynnas skulle enligt henne vara rika vita medelålders män.

Det är inte bara en grov trivialisering av diskussionen. Det är dessutom fel. Förbifart Stockholm är en förutsättning för att Stockholm, och därmed Sverige, ska utvecklas. Vilket onekligen gynnar betydligt fler än rika vita medelålders män.

Öresundsbron firade helt nyligen sitt tioårsjubileum. Innan den byggdes var bron, precis som förbifart Stockholm starkt ifrågasatt, den höll till och med på att fälla en regering. Avgörande för att den ändå blev byggd var att en bred politisk majoritet till slut orkade ta beslut att sätta spaden i marken och att denna majoritet sedan också orkade stå för detta.

Det var, kan man in efterhand konstatera, väldigt bra.

Under de år som har gått sedan bron stod klar har företag, universitet och myndigheter i Malmö och Köpenhamn utvecklat ett allt mer omfattande samarbete. En gemensam arbets- och boendemarknad har vuxit fram mellan Skåne och Själland. Det naturliga hinder som Öresund utgör korsas med tåg, buss eller bil av cirka 70000 personer per dag. Bron har blivit en succé och ytterst få fortsätter att hävda att den inte skulle ha byggts.

Det som en majoritet av nationella och lokala politiker klarade när det gällde Malmö har de misslyckats med i Stockholm. Den infrastruktursatsning som mer än något annat behövs i Stockholm, Förbifarten, har på nytt blivit ett högst osäkert projekt trots att det i höstas fanns en bred politisk majoritet för att den skulle byggas. Men därefter har vänstern och Miljöpartiet tvingat Socialdemokraterna att lova att en rödgrön regering skall genomföra en folkomröstning 2012. I den ska frågan ställas om stockholmarna vill satsa 27 miljarder på en Förbifart eller lika mycket på ytterligare kollektivtrafik. Och det råder ingen tvekan om att Miljöpartiet och vänstern utgår från att det blir nej till Förbifarten. Som man frågar får man svar, som ledande företrädare för Vänsterpartiet har uttryckt sig.

Förra året ökade befolkningen i Stockholmsregionen med nästan 40000 personer. Allt talar för att huvudstadsregionen kommer att växa med motsvarande ett nytt Malmö på mindre än tio år, det vill säga med cirka 300000 människor. Att tänka sig att bygga ett nytt Malmö utan en väl utvecklad infrastruktur är omöjligt. Ett nytt Malmö skulle behöva vägar och järnvägar. Precis på samma sätt behöver ytterligare cirka 300000 nya stockholmare högre kapacitet både på vägnätet och i kollektivtrafiken.

Den genomfart som finns idag, Essingeleden, byggdes på 1960- talet och är dimensionerad för 80000 fordon per dygn. Idag trafikeras den emellertid av 160000 fordon per dygn. Den siffran kommer självklart att växa i takt med att befolkningen ökar. Befolkningsökningen och den pågående regionförstoringen gör det nödvändigt att öka både vägkapaciteten och kollektivtrafiken. Det går inte att ställa en utbyggnad av dem mot varandra. Det behövs både och för att regionen ska fungera och för att den inte ska delas upp i två halvor, en norr och en söder om Mälarsnittet. Och även om bilresandet per person skulle minska dramatiskt så kommer det totala bilresandet att öka, då Stockholms nya Malmö är på plats.

Om beslutet att bygga Förbifarten genomförs enligt de planer som Socialdemokraterna ställde sig bakom för ett halvår sedan, kommer den att kunna stå klar tidigast om 10 år. 20 år efter det att bron över Öresund invigdes skulle vi alltså i bästa fall kunna få en vägförbindelse som inte går genom Stockholms innerstad. Det är en försening som har kostat stockholmarna ofantliga resurser i form av tidspill och tillväxthinder. Men det är inte det värsta. Det värsta är att Förbifarten kanske aldrig blir byggd.

CHRISTER JANSSON

VD Fastighetsägarna Stockholm

(Svenska Dagbladet 21-07-2010:3)

The interactional elements of this example are complicated by two features of the text which set it outside of the purely political voices analysed in the previous case studies. Firstly, Christer Jansson is both an individual and corporate voice, so that it is unclear whether or not his views are representative of himself or the organisation 'Fastighetsägarna Stockholm'. In addition to these there are several levels of interaction available between the author and the reader. As will be shown in Example 2, one avenue is for an equally privileged voice to reply through the same medium. This is further complicated by the simultaneous publication of the article on the internet, rapidly and immediately changing the interactional possibilities. This is solved in part through the text directing itself at the Green politician Yvonne Ruwaida, rather than inviting direct input from the public and thus opening up room for debate.

This two-way relationship between the author and his political opponent entails a form of politeness which removes the reader from the interaction, but without any politeness towards the person the author is criticising. Ruwaida is 'wrong', but potential readers who might oppose the road are not mentioned. One effect is that it encourages a reader to take sides and becomes, through an abstract process, inclusive. This is particularly evident when Jansson accuses Ruwaida of 'a base trivialisation of the discussion.', thus seeking to raise the standard of debate (in the context of a debate article) to what the public deserve.

Despite his resistance to her viewpoint, Ruwaida's assertion that the Stockholm bypass was a rights issue is used as the foundation of the entire text and leads into to the wider discussion of what can be termed 'enabling' technologies. The text contains two central conceits which are collocatively linked, namely that the older Öresund link project between Sweden and Denmark has been a success, and then the more flexible assertion that Förbifart Stockholm possesses the same virtues and is to all intents and purposes an identical project. This is illustrated in the following passage:

The Öresund crossing recently celebrated its tenth anniversary. Before it was built the bridge, much like Förbifart Stockholm, was strongly opposed. It even threatened to topple a government. Key to it still being constructed was a broad political majority eventually taking the decision to break ground and that this majority then stood by its decision.

This was, we can say in hindsight, a good decision.

The excerpt collocates two different concepts, the opening of the Öresund bridge-tunnel between Sweden and Denmark and the potential construction of Förbifart Stockholm. By drawing conclusions on a past event and stressing comparisons to the present it makes judgements on the future outcome of the Förbifart Stockholm and attempts to relegate opposition. The statement regarding the crossing's anniversary is incontestable, and the worth of the bridge has been widely recognised. Linking it to the current debate offers a way out of political impasse offers the reader the same set of values in the bypass project.

This linkage is evident further on in the text, this time stressing the difference between the two cases but returning to the idea of 'a broad political majority'.

What a majority of national and local politicians managed in Malmö's case they have failed to do in Stockholm. The infrastructure investment that Stockholm needs more than anything else, Förbifart Stockholm, has once again become highly uncertain despite there having been a broad political majority in favour of its construction last autumn.

This reinforces the links between the current debate and the Öresund project, and it is a link which is persistently made. Notably, the author goes on to state that 'Last year the population of greater Stockholm increased by almost 40,000. Everything points to the capital region growing with the equivalent of a new Malmö in less than ten years.'

The statistically verifiable statement regarding Stockholm's population growth is once again presented in tandem with the less tangible concept of 'a new Malmö'. The effect is to present Stockholm's urban sprawl as a contiguous new city with the transport needs of an extant one. The linking of urban growth to pre-existing models thus collocates Malmö's largest infrastructure project with Stockholm's. The same connection is established again in the final paragraph when the author writes '20 years after the bridge across the Öresund was inaugurated could we at best hope to have a road connection that does not travel through central Stockholm.'

There are other aspects of textual cohesion that are also particularly noteworthy. As well as being set alongside Malmö, Stockholm is also repeatedly collocated with the wellbeing of people as a whole in passages such as 'Stockholm, and by extension Sweden, will develop. This will undeniably benefit more people than just rich middle-aged men.' This is representative of the wider narrative surrounding the metaphor of

trickle down heart-and-body growth which occurs again and again in the debate, being a variation on the city metaphors of organic growth identified by Solesbury (2014) in which rhetorical presentation of cities sees them as living entities.

This metaphor relates to how infrastructure projects are given a developmental agency in facilitating and handling change. Statements such as ‘Both are needed if the region is to function and avoid being divided in two’ and ‘During the years since the bridge was finished business, universities and public bodies in Malmö and Copenhagen have developed increasingly comprehensive forms of cooperation.’ This establishes them as tools in natural processes. The opposition (The Greens and the Left party) however are actively blocking process, as in ‘The Left party and the Greens have forced the Social Democrats to promise a referendum by a red-green government in 2012.’

Not only does this paint the Greens and Left as barriers, it positions the Social Democrats as a weak and indecisive group at the mercy of their political partners. This removal of agency from the Social Democrats is a central conceit in the election campaign at large and the divisive interest groups represented by the Greens and Left can be contrasted with the ‘broad political majority’ the author demands.

These central textual features of temporality, political consensus and the Malmö/Stockholm parallel are also dominant in thematic analysis. The initial theme of the text for example is Green opposition, with the rheme explaining how that opposition is in fact misplaced and obstructive. Then the Öresund bridge is introduced as a second theme, possible to label simply as infrastructure given the attempts throughout to present different projects as providing uniform benefits, and a rheme elaborating on its history.

‘In the years that have passed’ introduces time and timescales as a theme, temporally situating the debate and then illustrating how hindsight has shown it to be the right decision, whilst the next theme is the all-important political consensus of ‘a majority of national and local politicians’ that the article is demanding in Stockholm. This is then followed by a return to time and timescales, accompanied by renewed mention of ‘a new Malmö’.

Subsequently, infrastructure is brought back in, though this time in reference to the supposedly outdated infrastructure of Essingeleden from the 1960s. The rheme develops the theme to cover appropriate infrastructure, further elaborating on the ideas of temporal suitability and necessity already outlined.

The final theme of the Jansson text is crucial in it fulfilling its function as it introduces the concrete concept of a decision, though the rheme refers to timescales once again, stressing the urgency of the action. The thematic structure this combines key elements of necessity, temporal situation and political responsibility and decision making.

The article is also a particularly consistent example of the use of certain vocabulary. Most important is the use of 'Förbifart' instead of 'Motorväg', and the repeated references to 'a new Malmö' as a metonym for population growth, avoiding the negative connotations outlined by Hermannsson (2002). There is also a notable use of 'obstacles' in references to 'obstacles to growth' and the Öresund bridge as crossing 'the natural obstacle which the Öresund presents.' As in many other comparable texts, 'Stockholm' is taken to mean a specific but ultimately undefined region which is separate to 'the new Malmö'. Likewise, the use of figures makes much of the apparent size of demand in relation to capacity. The figure 300,000 is mentioned twice as a means of demonstrating the scale of demand, alongside statistics such as '140,000 vehicles a day.' Out of context these are relatively meaningless, but their repeated use reinforces the idea of overcapacity and strain.

The central metaphor of the article is thus an organic one, in which the living heart of the nation (Stockholm) is under extreme pressure and in danger of being overburdened by the natural growth around it. The metaphor plays heavily on ideas of centralization, to a degree de-coupling the Swedish regions (Malmö is portrayed as being reliant on and linked to Denmark, not to the capital) and implicitly accepting the moves towards urbanisation that create demand for infrastructure. This matches the emphasis placed on policy as 'growth facilitation' outlined by While, Gibbs and Jonas (2013:2382) in Stockholm's developmental planning. If the city is alive (and if life is good) then maintaining its growth becomes important. The temporal aspects of the article emphasise that changes have to be made before it is too late for the metaphorical heart to recover and of the necessity of action. This creates a moral angle to the inaction of

the Greens and the Left and introduces the concept of responsibility alongside necessity. This is also related to the stated aims of the project to 'avoid putting pressure' on Stockholm's centre without reducing the overall growth of the region. By failing to guarantee the continued growth of the region (under the assumption that prosperity and material growth are linked), opponents of the project fail in a moral duty as responsible guardians of the city.

Despite beginning with reference to the idea of the rights discourses (in its reference to social justice at the Stockholm Green Festival) pursued by Yvonne Ruwaida, the textual ethos does not feature social justice particularly strongly. The identities carried by the text relate more strongly to ideas of responsibility, consensus and foresight. The use of the Öresund link as a comparative tool of both retrospective and aspiration gives the text an informed ability to forecast the future. Although this future vision is born of necessity rather than alternative aspiration, it establishes a definite developmental chronology to which the author attaches himself. The ethos of responsibility in particular is further reinforced through contrast with the apparent irresponsible behaviour and intransigence of the Social Democrats

Summary

The text is ostensibly politically neutral but it is evident which of the political blocs the author speaks for, conforming clearly to Alliance lines of argument and values. Although not a political text it utilises exactly the same language, metaphors and criticisms of its opponents as the bourgeois parties. It also presents a particular view of democracy in which the proposed referendum on whether or not to build the road would be illegitimate and irresponsible, coming from a group outside of the 'broad majority' in support of the project who are reluctant to waste any time on the matter.

The text is also open to a resistant reading due to its authorship. The author, an ethnically Swedish middle-aged man⁶⁰ who backs the project, argues that it would benefit people other than white middle-aged men. Some of the assumptions it makes and the facts it introduces are contestable, and despite choosing to actively engage with a Green politician it makes no reference to the environment as a topic or even as a

⁶⁰ http://www.fastighetsagarna.se/stockholm/aktuellt_opinion/nyheter_1/2013/tack-for-mig

theme. This means that its success depends heavily on the acceptance of infrastructure as the primary tool for a prosperous city.

7.5 Analysis 2: Green identities

The second example is a debate article authored by a Green member of the city council, Yvonne Ruwaida⁶¹, that appeared in *Svenska Dagbladet* in reply to Jansson's criticism. It appeared on 26th July, five days after the initial piece by Jansson, carrying the headline 'More motorways do not build away traffic jams'.

Ruwaida's text takes the form of an answer in a public interaction with Jansson. With the appearance of her reply it becomes a dialogue, but Ruwaida's text does not look or sound like a defence, instead seeking to assume control and inviting 'Stockholmers' to participate via a referendum instead of stressing the necessity of politicians making the decision. This actively invites people to partake in the process, though not to respond to the text directly. Upon publication, however, Ruwaida's article was given considerably less space than Jansson's initial criticism. This illustrates the ability of the medium to assert interactional control in the public space, despite not being the author of the text in the traditional sense.

The politeness strategies employed also reduce the risk of resistant readings. Whereas Ruwaida's original remarks framing the project as a rights issue took place in the context of the environmentally conscious Stockholm Green Festival, there is no mention of rights discourse. Instead the argument remains factual and is aware that its readership may well be different to the audience at the green festival.

⁶¹ Appendix II, tet 608

Analysis 7.2

Fler motorvägar bygger inte bort trängseln

Stockholm behöver en fungerande infrastruktur som Fastighetsägarnas vd så rätt påpekar på Brännpunkt den 21 juli. Den sexfiliga motorvägstunneln Förbifart Stockholm, som kallas men inte är en förbifart, är inte lösningen.

Miljöpartiet vill utveckla kollektivtrafiken till ett attraktivt och självklart resval för fler stockholmare. Stockholm ska utvecklas till en grön, modern stad där det är enkelt att leva klimatsmart och där bilberoendet minskar. Intäkterna från trängselavgifterna behövs till ny spårburen kollektivtrafik i Stockholm. Nya bostadsområden ska ha hållbara resealternativ direkt vid inflyttning. Då kan Stockholm växa på ett hållbart sätt utan att trafiksystemet blir överlastat.

Vägplaner från 60-talet, tiden då bilsamhället var det stora idealet, åter upp utrymmet för nödvändiga satsningar på ny kollektivtrafik på spår. En jämförelse med Öresundsbron är irrelevant. Öresundsbron är en överfart. Förbifart Stockholm skulle bara vara en nyttig överfart om det nya Malmö skulle byggas på Ekerö. Det är inte önskvärt och skulle skapa ett glest bilberoende Stockholm istället för en tät kollektivtrafikberoende stad.

Hälften av alla resor i Stockholms län är tvärregionala och tar ofta längre tid med dagens dåligt utbyggda kollektivtrafik än med bil. Följden av att bygga Förbifart Stockholm blir ett kraftigt ökat bilresande och att andelen kollektivtrafikresande minskar. Trängseln på vägarna ökar fem gånger och koldioxidutsläppen ökar med mellan 30–80 procent.

Faktum är att ingen stad i världen har lyckats bygga bort trängsel genom att bygga fler motorvägar. Det kommer inte heller Stockholm göra. Ska Stockholm kunna minska trängseln, bygga nya bostäder och skapa förutsättningar för nya företag och ta klimatansvar så behöver staden använda 28 miljarder till ny kollektivtrafik och inte till en sexfilig motorvägstunnel.

Stockholmarna får med en rödgrön regering ta ställning till hur trängselavgifterna ska användas i en folkomröstning 2011. Jag hoppas stockholmarna väljer det kostnads- och yteffektiva samt klimatsmarta alternativet att låta Stockholm växa som en modern och attraktiv kollektivtrafikstad.

YVONNE RUWAIDA (MP)

Oppositionsborgarråd

(Svenska Dagbladet 26-7-2010:5)

Rather than attempt to build up an argument of its own, the cohesion of the text is such that it aims very definitely to deconstruct the claims of the pro-road text. This begins by attacking the naming of the project by saying: 'The six-lane motorway tunnel Förbifart Stockholm, which is called a bypass but is not, is not the solution.' This is preceded, however, by an agreement that Stockholm does need a well-functioning infrastructure network.

This is part of a wider strategy that accepts some of the assumptions of the pro-road pieces but establishes different collocational relationships. One such example is the statement 'New residential areas should have sustainable transport alternatives available straight away. Then Stockholm can grow in a sustainable way without overburdening the transport infrastructure.' This accepts the need for residential growth and infrastructure investment but ties it to an alternative solution. Similarly, a universal statement is applied to Stockholm in much the same way as the first article attempted to give road infrastructure innate value, as shown below:

The fact of the matter is that no city on earth has succeeded in beating congestion by building more motorways. Neither will Stockholm. If Stockholm wants to reduce traffic, build new housing, create the conditions for new businesses or fulfill its climate responsibilities then the city will need 28 billion for new public transport, not for a six-lane motorway tunnel.

The 'fact' of the initial statement is linked to the diverse areas of business and housing policy, environment and public transport despite not making any claims itself on their validity. In the same way that pro-road texts argue the project is a facilitator for growth, Ruwaida re-articulates it as a barrier.

Stockholm becomes its own agent too. Although the Greens 'want to develop public transport into an attractive and obvious choice for more Stockholmers', they are not the same people who are undertaking the action in which 'Stockholm will be developed into a green, modern city where it is easy to live sustainably and where car use goes down.' Instead, this is the logical conclusion of a specific political course and future choice and not of the politicians themselves. Similarly, 'Stockholm can then grow' positions the city as spreading and growing of its own accord and not through the plans of politicians, as outlined in the previous discussion of the metaphors of Analysis 1. The text also promises that 'Stockholmers will be able to choose a position on how congestion charge

income is used.’ The effect of such constructions is that Stockholmers are potentially granted more power than in some of the pro-road pieces which have an assumed legitimacy (particularly regarding the idea of an implicit political majority).

Due in part to its short length, Ruwaida’s response has a straightforward thematic structure, beginning with ‘Stockholm’ and an explanation of what Stockholm does and does not need (a functioning infrastructure). This is then followed by the Swedish Green Party, introducing the Green vision for Stockholm and setting out the party’s own aspirations for the city. This is particularly important given the lack of alternative vision presented in the initial piece.

As in the pro-road text, time and timescale appear as a theme, though in this case the 1960s are invoked as a different time period in which car travel was held up as a societal idea. The implication is that that is no longer the case and that the current state of the modern prohibits the use of antiquated technologies, instead arguing for an environmentally and temporally appropriate approach to technology. This is followed by the related theme of travel itself in ‘half of all journeys’, the theme then developing the idea that there are different ways to travel.

The following section then adopts ‘facts’ as its themes, as mentioned in ‘the fact of the matter is’. This marks the introduction of an entire section making specifically factual, rather than values-based, claims. The final paragraph returns once again to Stockholm as theme, albeit in the form of its inhabitants ‘Stockholmers’. This reflects the wider positioning of Stockholm as an agent which itself carries out actions, rather than as a passive subject of development decisions. In the context of an informed public contesting outcomes with informed politicians, it justifies the thematic inclusion of fact based discourses rather than the responsibility emphasised when politicians are asked to make decisions on behalf of the citizenry. The possession of such knowledge also has implications for who is accountable as a moral agent and able to adequately make decisions.

Wording and word meaning are used to create a counter-vocabulary. This is comparable to Jason Hannan’s previously outlined discussion of ‘a new vocabulary and idiom’. As already mentioned, there is an attempt at re-naming. This occurs explicitly at the beginning but the phrase ‘six lane motorway tunnel’ is repeated later in the text too.

Interestingly, 'climate' is used as a synonym for a more generally sustainable lifestyle in phrases such as 'climate-smart' and the 'modern, public-transport city' that attempt to create an ethos of modernity around the Green project. The word 'modern' is used numerous times as an adjective when referring to Green plans and is consistent with the wider Green electoral project of developing a holistically modernistic identity. This phenomenon is further discussed in the concluding comments of this chapter, and plays a key role in the discussion of modernistic doxa in chapter seven.

Ruwaida's text buys into the same metaphorical construct as the pro-road text in that it recognises the concept of the organic city growing and changing. As such it rejects any conservationist metaphors or Malthusian approaches to growth, but whereas the pro-road text offers a technical fix, the Green text prescribes a lifestyle change in which the heart (the centre of Stockholm) is treated at cause (car use) rather than at symptom (congested roads).

This metaphorical disparity is reflective of what Guy Baeten (2010:23) has referred to as 'a new layer of well-connected and wealthy 'Öreplaces' or 'neoliberal superplaces' that operate at a different resolution level than the rest of the city' in reference to Malmö and the Öresund region that the pro-road text seeks to copy. It is also worth noting the trend identified by Kevin Ward and Andrew Jonas in the analysis of the city region as a concept, where 'The danger here is that certain urban-regional places do in fact become reified postnational spatial-analytical categories' and that 'such city-regions not only qualify for privileged theoretical treatment but also acquire a special status in national development policy and politics' (Ward & Jonas 2004: 2125) This is in contrast to the Green vision of an interconnected existing structure, rather than the sprawling creation of disparate, linked places and the idea of limitless growth of the region and its centres.

The textual identity established by Ruwaida encompasses some of the same ethos frames as her opponent, not least the use of foresight, but it also asserts itself a facilitator of democracy and also of individual agency. Most important, however, is the conscious ethos of modernity which permeates Ruwaida's reply and the way in which value is attached to the modern itself. This is particularly notable given the characteristics of renewal and progress employed by the Swedish centre-right as part of their electoral strategy, as is discussed later in the chapter, the birth of the 'new'

Moderates and the adoption by both sides of characteristics of global leadership in which Sweden becomes a *föregångsland*.

Summary

Yvonne Ruwaida's contribution to the debate attempts to re-articulate notions of progress and democracy raised by the initial article attacking her without returning to her original statement about the disproportionate benefit of the project to white, middle-aged men. The idea of the Greens acting as a barrier to development and progress is re-narrated as a desire to develop a truly modern city subscribing to a specific set of 'modern' values in which people are the decision makers.

It is also worth paying attention to the character of the authors themselves. Whilst Christer Jansson is one of the white middle-aged men that Ruwaida had originally taken aim at, Ruwaida herself is a younger, female speaker with a Palestinian background. Whilst this is likely to provoke resistant readings of the texts from both sides, it also more clearly delineates the textual identities developed by the two. Ultimately, however, she is a less privileged speaker and this is reflected in the lack of space given to her reply.

7.6 Analysis 3: The Alliance for Sweden and investment

The text reproduced here is a joint debate article corporately authored by the four governing parties in the self-titled 'Alliance for Sweden' (Allians för Sverige)⁶². The grouping, formed prior to the 2006 election, presented a united front and enjoyed a small overall majority (Arter 2008:231) It re-asserts the governing parties' backing for the Förbifart Stockholm project as well as appealing for a new governing mandate and makes attempts to situate the localised debate within a national perspective. It carries the headline 'Now we will invest 28 billion in the Stockholm Bypass'.

⁶² Appendix II, text 566

Analysis 7.3

Nu satsar vi 28 miljarder på bygget av Förbifarten

Efter årtionden av tvära kast och otydliga svar om trafiken i Stockholmsregionen har väljarna rätt att kräva besked. Med omfattande investeringar i nya spår och nya vägar lovar vi att skapa en grund för en växande och dynamisk huvudstadsregion till nytta för hela Sverige. Som ett led i detta ställer vi nu ut ett tydligt löfte till väljarna. För alliansen förnyat förtroende blir Förbifart Stockholm verklighet. Det blir ett viktigt besked inför höstens val.

De bilköer, förseningar och trafikproblem som finns i Stockholm hämmar inte bara regionens utveckling, utan får konsekvenser för all trafik som ska passera huvudstaden. En välfungerande infrastruktur i Stockholmsregionen är med detta inte bara en förutsättning för att vardagen ska kunna fungera för alla som bor eller arbetar i och kring Stockholm. Det är också en förutsättning för att få ett fungerande nationellt trafiksystem.

Det finns nu goda förutsättningar att åstadkomma betydande förbättringar för trafiksituationen i regionen. En samsyn finns på lokal och regional nivå om vilka problem som är störst och vilka åtgärder som är mest angelägna.

Alliansregeringen är nu beredd ta nästa steg för att förverkliga de investeringar i spår och vägar som regionen så väl behöver. Vi tar ett helhetsgrepp för att skapa ett sammanhållet och väl fungerande trafiksystem. Våra investeringar omfattar åtgärder i hela trafiksystemet, för kollektivtrafiken, vägtrafiken och järnvägstrafiken.

Viktiga åtgärder på järnvägssidan handlar om att knyta de större orterna i Mälardalen närmare Stockholm för att därmed få en större gemensam arbets- och bostadsmarknad. Den främsta insatsen är bygget av Citybanan under Stockholms centrum som löser upp den största proppen i det svenska järnvägsnätet, men också andra åtgärder som görs på Mälarbanan, Svealandsbanan och Ostkustbanan. För kollektivtrafiken går staten in och medfinansierar fortsatta utbyggnader av tvärbanan samt av Roslagsbanan.

På vägsidan pågår utbyggnader av Norra länken, E 18 Hjulsta-Kista och väg 73 till Nynäshamn. Genom regeringens beslut kommer också utbyggnader av bland annat Södertörnsleden Haninge-Huddinge-Fittja samt E 4/E 20 mellan Stockholm och Södertälje att genomföras. I paketet ingår också att Länsstyrelsen i Stockholm får närmare åtta miljarder kronor för den regionala infrastrukturen. Därmed möjliggörs ytterligare investeringar på vägnätet och i kollektivtrafiken.

En av de viktigaste satsningarna är Förbifart Stockholm. Alliansen kan i dag ge ett tydligt besked till väljarna. Regeringen avser att i veckan fatta beslut om att satsa 28 miljarder kronor på Förbifart Stockholm. Det är en av de enskilt största infrastruktursatsningarna som någonsin beslutats i Sverige.

Förbifart Stockholm knyter ihop Stockholmsregionen genom sin sträckning från E 4/E 20 vid Kungens kurva i söder till E 4 vid Häggvik i norr. Förbifarten har stor betydelse för både tillväxt och jobb i en växande Stockholmsregion. Därtill avlastar den Sveriges hårdast belastade vägsträcka, Essingeleden, och trafik som inte ska in i Stockholm kan på ett smidigt sätt runda huvudstadens kärna.

I och med detta ger den nya vägen också förutsättningar för en väl fungerande och bättre kollektivtrafik, vilket är helt avgörande för människors vardag och för en god stadsmiljö. Förbifarten är med detta en nyckelinvestering. Skulle denna investering ryckas undan faller en viktig pusselbit i arbetet med att förbättra trafiksituationen i regionen.

Alliansen säger ja till förbifarten efter en noggrann miljöprövning. Hänsyn tas till Stockholms unika miljövärden. Med fyra femtedelar av vägen i tunnel undviks intrång i naturmiljöer och splittring av naturområden. Bullerspridningen begränsas. Beslutet är förknippat med ett antal villkor för att säkerställa att största möjliga hänsyn till klimat och miljö tas vid utformning, byggande och drift av vägen.

Byggstart för Förbifart Stockholm beräknas till 2012. Det är mitt under nästa mandatperiod. Om alliansregeringen får förnyat förtroende blir investeringen verklighet. Frågan väljarna nu måste ställa sig är vad som händer om Socialdemokraterna tillsammans med Vänsterpartiet och Miljöpartiet får makten över huvudstadens infrastruktur. Svaret är att det vet vi inte.

Vad vi däremot vet är att ledande företrädare för det rödgröna regeringsalternativet är villiga att göra motståndet till huvudfråga i ett eventuellt koalitionsbygge. Miljöpartiet har tydligt avfärdat förbifarten och uttalat att en kommande röd-grön regeringskoalition efter valet 2010 varken själv kan medverka till eller tillåta att Förbifart Stockholm byggs. Vänsterpartiet är lika avvisande. Vad som till slut blir oppositionens gemensamma politik återstår att se.

Vår huvudstad behöver en utvecklad infrastruktur. Vår huvudstad behöver förbifarten och kollektivtrafiken. Det tydliga budskapet kommer vi, tillsammans med våra lokala företrädare i Stockholmsregionen, att framföra inför valet. Så länge oppositionen underlåter att ge väljarna svar före valdagen eller risk finns att Socialdemokraterna frångår sin tidigare linje kommer vi att avkräva dem besked om deras alternativ. Förbifarten blir med detta en fråga för väljarna.

Alliansregeringens infrastrukturensatsning i Stockholm görs tillsammans med regionen och trafikanterna. Den innehåller centrala investeringar inom hela trafiksystemet. Mot det står en opposition som enas i sitt motstånd till medfinansiering. Om deras politik förverkligas bromsas Stockholmsregionen.

Med samlade besked ger alliansregeringen Stockholm förutsättningar att utvecklas. Därmed ger vi också ett tydligt besked till väljarna inför valet 2010: Vi vill att Stockholmsregionen ska fortsätta att växa. Till nytta för hela Sverige.

Fredrik Reinfeldt

partiledare (M)

Maud Olofsson

partiledare (C)

Jan Björklund

partiledare (FP)

Göran Haggglund

partiledare (KD)

(Svenska Dagbladet 29-03-2010:4)

An extensive text which was given an entire page upon its initial publication, it takes the form of a promise rather than a debate. The authors themselves possess a high level of legitimacy and include the sitting Prime Minister, although in the context of the article they are presented as the leaders of their parties. Given that the text as a whole takes the form of a promise and an appeal rather than an attack or response, the only interactional options available to a reader are acceptance or rejection through electoral politics.

Politeness is achieved through the removal of the barrier between the authors and readers in the use of inclusive language such as ‘our capital’ and ‘we want’ collocated with the language of need, emphasising the common interest in the project. Due to the corporate nature of the article such use of group language can be read as referring to two co-existing groups – the parties themselves and society at large.

The main collocational relationships established by the text are between the construction of the road and the ‘renewed trust’ placed in the government through their re-election. This appears immediately in the first paragraph in the statement:

With extensive investments in new rail and roads we promise to create the foundations for a growing and dynamic capital region for the benefit of all of Sweden. As part of this we are making a clear promise to the voters. If the Alliance gains a renewed mandate Förbifart Stockholm will become a reality. It is an important messaging in the run up to the autumn’s election.

The main purpose of the text is to establish and reinforce the idea that three distinct concepts are interrelated, namely the construction of new infrastructure, the wellbeing of the people and the re-election of the government. The same relationship resurfaces in the middle of the text in the statement ‘Construction on Förbifart Stockholm is estimated to begin in 2012. This will be in the middle of the next term of government. If the Alliance gain a renewed mandate the investment will become reality.’

The text also makes attempts to collocate Sweden with Stockholm (some of the ‘red-green’ texts envision a unified, rather than unitary nation as will be shown later). This is typified by the piece’s concluding sentence ‘We want the Stockholm region to continue growing. For all of Sweden’s benefit.’ It occurs again in the declaration that ‘A well-functioning infrastructure in the Stockholm region is not just a means of making everyday life work for everyone who lives and works in and around Stockholm. It is also a prerequisite to achieving a working national transport system.’

As will be shown in the discussion of themes, there is also a larger collocational pattern at work which seeks to combine present the project as responsible in political, economic and environmental terms in the context of the article's general ethos.

Textual agents in the article are diverse, in line with the general idea of an organically growing city and a government which facilitates, rather than drives, growth. Many of the actions of the Alliance parties are conditional, so that are need for instance to 'be given a renewed mandate' for Förbifart Stockholm to become reality. Similarly, 'The Alliance government's infrastructure investments in Stockholm are being carried out together with the region and road users.' grants the Alliance a partial role in what is portrayed as a natural process in which many different stakeholders are involved. Such passivity on the part of the government serves to depoliticise their policy and replace it with a developmental managerialism.

Even where the government are active, in sentences such as 'The alliance government is now read to take the next step', it is still acting out a seemingly pre-determined and inevitable action rather than an act of political ideology. The project itself on the other hand is consistently presented as an independent agent, as below:

Förbifart Stockholm ties together the Stockholm region, stretching from the E4/E20 at Kungens Kurva in the south to the E4 at Häggvik in the north. Förbifarten is of great significance for both growth and jobs in a growing Stockholm region. It will also relieve Sweden's most congested stretch of road, Essingeleden, and traffic that does not need to enter Stockholm can smoothly avoid the centre of the capital.

This same presentation of the road as agent continues throughout the text, supporting the idea of necessity and support versus resistance. It also creates an impression that the project is underway in the context of the debate and was being slowed down, when in reality it had not started.

Being a relatively lengthy text, there is a diversity of theme, the first of which is time. This is reflective of the overall urgency of the text and its attempts to portray the project as already delayed. As the initial theme this is important because it temporally frames the rest of the text.

The second paragraph uses a theme, 'traffic problems' which introduces what is ostensibly to be solved within the time-perspective laid out in the first paragraph, whilst

the third paragraph begins with opportunity in mentioning ‘preconditions’ (also translatable as foundations) . This transitions to ‘The Alliance government’ in the fourth paragraph and their readiness to allow the development and solve the problems and embrace the opportunities previously mentioned.

There then follow twin, complementary themes in consecutive paragraphs which can be classed as ‘important railway investments’ and ‘important road investments’ respectively. The positioning of two related themes with different rhemes in equal-sized paragraphs gives an impression of equal weight to the investments in road and rail, including the collocation of the packet of measures for rail travel with the single project of Förbifarten and its associated offshoots. This is compounded in the following paragraph’s theme ‘one of the most important investments’ which the rheme determines to be Förbifart Stockholm.

Förbifart Stockholm then becomes a theme in itself as it becomes the agent of the next paragraph, the rheme elaborating on what it will do, repeated in the following paragraph in the alternatively worded ‘the new road.’ The Alliance return in the form of compliance, combined with the following theme of a beginning to construction.

The final section asserts facts and knowledge with ‘What we do however know’, followed by necessity (‘Stockholm needs’) and partnership (‘The alliance government... together with), before concluding with unity. This is taken to mean both the unity of government and universal support for the project. The thematic continuity of the text, combined with its cohesion, can thus be loosely divided into problems, solutions, resistance to solution and resistance to resistance.

The use of ‘Förbifart Stockholm’ as a project name is uniform and even mentions of the word ‘road’ are kept to a minimum. Wherever possible, infrastructure is used as a synonym for roads and allowed, being tied in with ‘railway infrastructure’.

Of more interest is the way in which ‘environmental’ words are used. Clearly discerning a need to address environmental concerns, the text nonetheless refuses to embrace environment as an holistic or global concept, as shown below:

Attention has been paid to Stockholm’s unique environmental assets. With four fifths of the road in a tunnel intrusion into the natural environment

and division of wild areas is avoided. Dynamite drilling will be limited. The decision has been made in accordance with conditions set down to ensure the highest level of care for environment and climate during design, construction and service of the road.

Unlike the ethos of environmental modernity evident in some Green voices, if not all oppositional texts, environment as a concept is largely seen as a planning issue to be mitigated. 'Environmental assets' and 'natural environment' indicate that the environment is a limited concept. Interestingly, even climate is reduced to something to be protected instead of existing as context.

The underlying metaphor of the text is not the organic growth metaphor prevalent in many other road texts, although it is also present to an extent. Instead it seeks to create a commonality between the unified Alliance, the use of infrastructure to unify place and the unification of public support behind the Alliance in a metaphor of movement versus inaction. The Alliance vision is pro-active and involves people moving from place to place along new avenues, whilst their opponents both physically block the project and keep the city blocked. The government are thus portrayed as attempting to bypass both the city and the opposition.

The ethos constructed by the text is both intensely political yet depoliticised. Intended as nothing less than an appeal for votes ahead of a parliamentary election, it instead emphasises responsibility, necessity and inevitability. A governmental voice which succeeds in remaining passive despite an obvious agenda, it creates a presumptive democratic ethos too. This is evident in its appeal for a mandate, but also in its presumption of a mandate for what it wishes to achieve and for execution as opposed to leadership.

Summary

The texts' function is to garner support for general and municipal elections, even though it's topic is the construction of Förbifart Stockholm. It is also conscious that the Förbifart project is quite clearly an environmental debate and is it pains to mitigate the environmental impact through the re-assertion of a specific view of commodified environment. This entails a degree of assumed environmentalism and argues that the project is green enough to proceed.

Most interesting in light of any ethical approach to the debate is the clear presentation of the project as a social good and the presentation of opposition as anti-society, anti-prosperity and anti-democratic. Moreover, collocation of road and rail under the banner of ‘infrastructure’ breaks down the dichotomy between sustainable and non-sustainable transport. This is reflected by the same government’s previous decision to combine and rename the previous Ministry of Railways and Ministry of Roads into the ‘Ministry of Traffic’ [*Trafikverket*] (Sveriges Riksdag 2010). Ostensibly a merger of administration, its rhetorical effect is further discussed in relation to Fig. 7.7 on the relationship between infrastructure, investment and nation.

7.7 Analysis 4: The Social Democratic critique

This example⁶³ was written in reply to the joint government declaration on the project by Eva Franchell as a leader article in *Aftonbladet*. Franchell is a journalist and former press-officer for the Social Democrats, writing in a personal capacity. Entitled ‘The Stockholmers who will pay for it’, it introduces the idea of different types of social cost in addition to monetary value.

Interactionally the article is difficult to place. Franchell speaks as an individual, albeit one closely allied to the Social Democrats and firmly opposed to the Alliance government. Appearing in *Aftonbladet* as a regular leader writer, she also writes with a alliance texts, Franchell makes no demands on voters. The subject of her disapproval is the Social Democrats, but not Social Democratic values. This is critically important in allowing her to criticise policy without attacking the general movement with which *Aftonbladet* has historically sympathised.

The structure of the text aims to contextualize the ‘investment’ being made by the Alliance and to introduce doubt about the project by linking its spiraling costs to the moral question of social justice and rights. This is achieved through the overall textual cohesion, with the first section focusing heavily on cost and finance whilst the second stresses solidarity and mentions cases of previously doomed attempts to change or destroy the public space. They are explicitly linked in the following passage:

Half a century of punitive taxation for Stockholmers so that people from other parts of the country can drive around Stockholm. That is unfair.

⁶³Appendix II, text 524

Analysis 7.4

Stockholmarna som får betala

Alliansregeringen lurar läsarna på DN Debatt:

Nu satsar vi 28 miljarder på bygget av Förbifarten.

Men inte är det alliansregeringen som kommer att satsa 28 miljarder på Förbifart Stockholm. Staten kommer att bidra med runt fem miljarder, resten får stockholmarna betala.

Tanken är nämligen att stockholmarnas trängselskatt ska bekosta det gigantiska vägprojektet. Regeringen bryter därmed löftet till väljarna. På folk-omröstningens valsedlar stod det att skatten skulle gå till ”kollektivtrafik och vägar”, men det gäller inte längre. Nu kommer pengarna att gå till en enda extremt dyr väg.

Frågan är om det ens räcker med 28 miljarder, med längre tunnel och betongbeläggning kommer slutsumman snarare att hamna på upp emot 50 miljarder.

Ett halvt sekels straffbeskattning av stockholmarna för att folk från andra delar av landet ska kunna köra runt Stockholm. Det är inte rättvist.

Stockholmarna behöver pendeltåg som fungerar, de behöver snabb, turtät kollektivtrafik och tunnelbanetåg som tål en vinter. Många stockholmare har inte ens en bil, de har inte råd. Nu får de vänta längre på bussen medan de blickar ut över Förbifarten. Just förortsborna i Skärholmen och Hjulsta får en helt ny vy över den nya vägen som kommer att gå i ytläge genom de fattigare förorterna.

Det är först när vägen når fram till det rikare Ekerö som den ska ner i tunnel.

Förbifart Stockholm är en orättvis trafiklösning som gynnar de privilegierade. Därför är det extra svårt att förstå varför även socialdemokrater ställer upp på förslaget. Kanske vill de vinna medelklassrösterna i Nacka, Täby eller på Ekerö där de slipper se motorvägen?

Det borde vara självklart att Socialdemokraterna i det rödgröna samarbetet också ser klimatnyttan med en god kollektivtrafik. Men ibland går det för fort, det har hänt förr att socialdemokratin har utmanat Stockholm med grävskopor och betong.

På 70-talet ville Hjalmar Mehr hugga ner almarna i Kungsträdgården för att bygga en tunnelbaneuppgång. Det blev hans fall.

Själv minns jag också striden om Klarastrandsleden i valrörelsen 1985 när Mats Hulth ville bygga ut vägen i Klara sjö.

Projektet stoppades i sista minuten den gången också.

EVA FRANCHELL

(*Aftonbladet* 30-03-2010:2)

This serves to establish the text as a whole as dealing with public assets of many different types, from space to public finance and the environment. Similarly, a link between the economic, the socially just and the use of space is established in the observation that:

The suburban residents of Skärholmen and Hjulsta will gain a view of the new road as it runs on the surface through the poorer suburbs.

Only when it reaches the richer Ekerö will it descend into a tunnel.

This establishes a spatial environmentalism closely linked to notions of class and privilege. It also lends the project a strongly moral character and helps to transform it into an issue of equity.

The transitivity also helps to frame Stockholm and its populace as victims, whilst the government are portrayed as negative agents. Constructions such as ‘The government is breaking ... their promise to voters’ and ‘the Alliance government is tricking the readers’ runs contrary to the liberating verbs used in pro-road texts and their metaphors of enablement and interconnection. Similarly, ‘Stockholmers need commuter trains’, and ‘now they will have to wait longer for the bus’. It is ‘Stockholmers’ congestion tax that will pay for the gigantic road project.’, and most interestingly given that Franchell is a Social Democrat, ‘It has happened in the past that social democracy has challenged Stockholm with diggers and concrete.’

Such transitivity allows Stockholm to become the victim in a moral struggle between the weak and the strong. By noting how the Social Democrats themselves have a history of working against Stockholm’s interests (though it should be noted that the primary agents in such cases are specific individuals rather than the party at large), Franchell also illustrates the possibility that this is once again the case. This is one of the most notable examples of links being explicitly drawn between ownership of the public space and societal power.

Thematically there is considerable overlap with the original text Franchell’s leader was authored to argue against, playing on the interdiscursivity inherent in the election campaign. The first theme is dishonesty, as expressed in ‘The Alliance is tricking the readers’, though this is intimately connected to the notions of trust and responsibility thematically dominant in the first text. This is followed by doubt, questioning the facts

of the project and the ability of it to be delivered, before time is introduced in the phrase ‘Half a century of punitive taxation’ (this can be contrasted with the open, liberated futures envisioned by the pro-road texts). This then develops into need, expanded upon in a rhyme that describes what Stockholm and Stockholmers actually need, and what they are getting. This unfairness in provision opens up the next theme, injustice, which explicitly calls on the Social Democrats to reconsider in light of the apparent clash with their political values. This itself feeds into the final theme, again around temporality, in which Social-Democratic mistakes of the past are invoked as a means of understanding the present.

The wording of Franchell’s article is designed to construct Stockholm as a very specific community. Contrary to the collocation of Stockholm and Sweden so dominant elsewhere, Stockholm and Stockholmers become a group unto themselves, but a group amongst whom there is some commonality. Conspicuous by its absence is any reference to either Swedes or Sweden as group identities. There is also reference to ‘climate-effectiveness’ [*klimatnyttan*], introducing climate as concept in contrast to the geographically limited environmentalism of pro-road texts. Climate is also presented as a moral proposition in itself, whilst the two mentions of ‘not just’ and ‘unjust’ are further examples of the use of a vocabulary of community and equity.

The text uses a spatial metaphor of inside and outside in terms of both the interests of the people of Stockholm versus the rest of country and in the physical delineation of Stockholm and its division into separate areas in opposition to the idea of a unified, socially and infrastructurally cohesive Stockholm. This is again representative of the competition between contiguous, uniform places and the connection of elite ‘super places’ outlined by Guy Baeten.

Equality becomes an underpinning characteristic of the text, in tandem with the of environmentalism (particularly regarding past struggles to protect the integrity of Stockholm’s public space) and a generally democratic approach to doing so. This results in a series of linked the combining environmental equity and social equity. Although alternative visions are present in the text, they stem more from necessity than ambition. This is related to the intended function of undermining Social Democratic support for the project through the application of social-democratic values to its opposition. There

also exist important strands of localism and responsibility as sub ethes, linking and challenging the Alliance's own narrative.

Summary

Franchell's text illustrates how non-Green environmentalism can be created through more normative discussions of the ownership of space and the application of nominally mainstream moral and identity frameworks to narratives of development. Discussions of equity and the delineation of community from national to local also help to tackle the organic growth metaphors of the Alliance whilst seeking to involve the third-voice of social democracy, largely absent from the debate. It also rejects distinctions between the urban and the rural and the commodification of nature as a policy area and develops an alternative narrative to the inevitability and urgency of pro-road voices.

In addition, it seeks to lay down clear boundaries between the agenda of the Social Democrats and that pursued by the Alliance, daring to reassert a social and economic vision differing radically from that proposed by the government and which, in the Stockholm region at least, has become the dominant discourse surrounding growth and infrastructure. This can be contrasted with a complete lack of texts in the corpus from the Social Democrats themselves justifying their support for the project or attempting to show how it conforms to their aims. As Robyn Eckersley (2004:74) notes Social Democratic ecological modernisation in Sweden and elsewhere ultimately reaches a point at which the contradiction between stated aims and actions becomes apparent. Whilst this is less disruptive to Alliance plans, just as in the energy referendum it challenges the narrative orthodoxy of the green nation but without the option of a third way between construction and non-construction.

7.8 The debate as a whole

The media debate surrounding Förbifart Stockholm produces a range of different texts, from debate articles specifically about the project to more general news reporting and summaries on which the project is addressed as a component of a larger political and social context, values system or vision.

The immediately striking thing about the media coverage of the debate is how little room was given to oppositional voices in traditional media. The strong dominance of Alliance politicians and voices in *Expressen*, *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Dagens Nyheter* led to

the entire discussion in the period studied assuming distinctly political characteristics, with a total vacuum of input from the Social Democratic party. Moreover, the relative absence of non-political voices served to relegate non-political approaches, the exceptions being occasional interjections from environmental or economic experts, usually in terms of political analysis. Attempts to objectively communicate the financial and scientific basis of the situation are almost entirely absent, and the author types can loosely be divided into politicians, journalists, interest groups and experts. The first three groups often make claims on being experts, but the incidence of academics or other informed voices remains low overall. Consequently, information discourses and factual reporting plays a far smaller role than it did in the nuclear question for example.

These texts construct a clear and balanced range of textual ethos frames, developing characteristics which combine a number of key elements with more nuanced identities for reasons of context and agenda, as illustrated in the word cloud produced from the study shown in Fig. 7.2.

7.9 Data

The Förbifart Stockholm debate yielded a relatively large corpus of 111 different texts from the four titles focused on. Unlike the earlier two case studies, the data set for the debate on Förbifart Stockholm is complete as it was compiled using the pre existing electronic database from Sweden's national media archive. It contains every article published in the period from the 19th March to the 19th September 2010 in which the project was mentioned.

The data shows a heavy dominance by the broadsheet newspapers of the issue, with *Aftonbladet* (18) and *Expressen* (16) yielding significantly fewer articles than *Dagens Nyheter* (45) and *Svenska Dagbladet* (32). This is part of a general trend and can be explained by a higher general incidence of current affairs in the broadsheets and broader debate and comment forums than in their tabloid counterparts.

There is a similar disparity in the spread of the type of coverage between types of newspaper, with a lack of in depth reporting but an abundance of opinion articles and mentions in political reports, with 46 news articles mentioning the project and 30 debate articles addressing it directly or mentioning it in the larger context of the election.



Fig. 7.2. Wordcloud illustrating incidence of textual frames within the Stockholm Bypass debate, including the prevalence of necessity, democracy and responsibility.

The overall domination of opinion articles over news coverage can be explained partly by the highly politicised nature of the debate when tied specifically to governmental elections. As is later discussed, this also has implications for the way in which the project is instrumentalised by politicians and the interdiscursivity of the road debate with parallel events.

Although mention of Förbifart Stockholm is relatively high, the number of texts which utilise the project as a primary topic remains low, particularly in news reporting. This can be explained in part through the project having been planned for a long period of time and thus unable to produce 'new' news, yet it is also illustrative of an absence of objective reporting on the issue, most mentions being procedural in nature. The texts contained within the corpus were, for the most part, in favour of the continuation of the road project.

7.10 Mapping textual ethos

Although a wide number of different ethos frames occur, there are a specific number of central identities which dominate the textual corpus, the three most frequently occurring being vision (34) responsibility (26 times) and necessity (28 times). This is complemented by important features such as an emphasis on the future (20 times), democracy (20 times), investment (13 times) and consensus and compromise (10 each).

These central ethos frames occur in tandem with other instrumental values present in the previous case studies such as leadership, but also with traditional conservative and environmentalist identities. As will be discussed, such environmental characteristics occur largely in pro-road texts with a particular emphasis on the campaigning of the Centre Party.

These values are more often than not presented with regard to political projects rather than the larger and more fundamental questions of Swedish environmental policy. The environmental components of these projects are thus integrated within wider programs and subject to the same values systems, existing as external values in instrumental argument. The emphasis on values ensuring security and competence to manage have implications when viewing post 1990s Swedish modernity in terms of a risk society, as is later discussed in terms of Ulrich Beck's (1992) concept of late-modern risk, whilst the

same values can also be used to establish alternative green modernities, as is also subsequently argued in the concluding chapter.

Political vision

The most dominant characteristic is the idea of vision, and the articulation of an agenda and a plan for progress that addresses social priorities or acts as a guarantor to uncertainties. This can be contrasted with the almost total absence of conservationist, static ethic in the articles arguing for the retention of the status quo. Of the 111 articles analysed 34, or just under a third, featured a variation on vision as a central characteristic. It was also present throughout the rest of the corpus, but as is explained in the discussion of methodology did not constitute one of the three primary labels attached to each text. This emphasis on vision manifests itself as both future vision and alternative vision, but also in accusations of a lack of vision from election rivals in the debate, particularly the Social Democrats.

These quantitatively documentable aspects of alternative vision are typified by a leader⁶⁴ published in *Aftonbladet* regarding Förbifart Stockholm, published under the title ‘Scrap Förbifart Stockholm’:

Swedes are parking their cars and taking the train instead. Train travel has increased by 50 per cent since 1997, according to new figures from Trafikverket. Car use has also not increased as fast as was predicted. Travellers have already voted, and that means that the gigantic motorway investment in Förbifart Stockholm is no longer of interest. Build high speed rail instead, and invest more in modern railways. (*Aftonbladet* 19-06-2010:2)

Such textual ethos combines aspects of technologism and temporal narrative to argue for a change of path which still fulfills the needs of the population (in this case apparently representing their manifest will as well). Variations on vision such as foresight, and to a certain extent solutionism, thus become characteristics of texts, the ability to articulate a vision being a characteristic in itself and established as goods.

From the pro-road side, the road is almost always referenced as a facilitating tool in a larger vision for development. An interview with Sten Nordin⁶⁵, Moderate leader on the City Council, in *Dagens Nyheter* situates it in such a context, as outlined below. The complete article lists Förbifart Stockholm as a ‘key project’ for Nordin’s administration:

⁶⁴ Appendix II, text 520

⁶⁵ Appendix II, text 561

Stockholm is bursting at the seams and the Moderates are stood firmly behind that growth. To make Sweden's capital grow on the world map so that more business, students, and not least, tourists find their way there is an issue close to Sten Nordin's heart. He speaks warmly about the cooperation in the Mälardal region in business and thinks that increased cooperation between the city and higher education is important for the future. "It's important that we're all pulling in the same direction and I feel that both politically and from Stockholmers there is support for our belief that a growing Stockholm is good for the whole of Sweden", says Sten Nordin (*Dagens Nyheter* 28-8-2010:14)

This broader collocation of disparate concepts under a vision for growth, and of the super place, ties a singular specific project to a larger vision of the future that involves Stockholm becoming a global capital, an educational leader and a financial centre. This all plays into a central idea that Sweden's identity should be constructed around the idea of a *föregångsland*.

This can also entail attacks on the vision of others, as typified by an editorial⁶⁶ from *Svenska Dagbladet* specifically attacking the Green electoral vision as being unrealistic:

The manifesto is a wish-list. Public transport will be expanded so quickly that usage will double by 2020. Nuclear and fossil fuels will all of a sudden be replaced by solar, biofuels, wind and wave energy. The Million housing program will be renovated on a huge scale and the state will become a risk-capitalist, and once again it will be possible to be off work as long as you like, higher education will be given more resources and more. On top of that employer's tax contributions and VAT will go down ... whilst they talk about all this [Green co-spokesperson] Peter Eriksson just says no to Förbifart Stockholm. (*Svenska Dagbladet* 31-03-2010:4)

Such analyses seek to portray the Green vision as illegitimate, as opposed to the complete and workable vision of Sten Nordin and others. It also illustrates the competition between future visions of continuity and alternative visions requiring active change. The development of a Moderate/Liberal planning tradition (in opposition to the Social-Democratic spatial ideals of the earlier phases of urban expansion in Stockholm and elsewhere) has been noted by the political scientist Stig Björn Ljunggren (2006:12) who has characterised the expansion beyond Social-Democratic suburbs into the 'knowledge region' around Stockholm (and similarly Öresund) as 'An example of a Moderate vision of the everyday. Here we have an alternative to the Social Democratic society. The moderates used to content themselves with trying to hold back

⁶⁶ Appendix II, text 590

development, but over time they have developed a counter-utopia.’ The engineering of such a post Social-Democratic modernity and its associated identities is crucial to the Alliance project as a whole. The lack of a convincing social-democratic neo-modernity and how this relates to Green strategies has also been noted by Social Democrats themselves, who have diagnosed the party as needing ‘a few sprinkles of the Green’s urban modernity’ (Mellin 2013). This temporal friction within Social Democracy and the political identities of contemporary politics is further discussed in the concluding chapter.

Responsibility

The second most numerous textual frame is responsibility, covering issues as diverse as environmental and democratic responsibility, the responsibility of government or the responsibility of sacrifice and cooperation. This is typified by the headline shown in Fig.7.3, ‘A way to duck responsibility’, aimed at the use of a referendum by the Red-Green coalition to avoid responsibility for the future of the project. This can be contrasted with the qualities of responsibility apparently attributed to the Alliance and functions as a general criticism of the leadership qualities of the Social Democrat’s candidate for Prime Minister, Mona Sahlin. This exists in opposition to the assertive masculinity of figures such as Sten Nordin and the Moderate Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt.

Ethos of responsibility dominates in the narrative of both Förbifart Stockholm and the election, closely linked to notions of trust, competence and honesty, as shown in an excerpt from *Dagens Nyheter*⁶⁷, which appeared under the headline ‘The Red-Greens are letting down the voters.’

One reason the Social Democrats are losing support could be that several of the suggestions in the Red-Green manifesto are unpopular. That includes for example raising tax on petrol by 49 öre a litre. The same can be said for the congestion charge on Essingeleden long before Förbifart Stockholm is ever built. (*Dagens Nyheter* 29-05-2010: 2)

⁶⁷ Appendix II, text 551

This responsibility is evident in general attacks on the Red-Green line too. An editorial⁶⁸ in *Expressen* under the title ‘Alliance against Stockholm’ contained the following accusation:

On point after point the Social Democrats are going into the election with a politics that disadvantages Stockholm. More or less every small town has a bypass that takes through traffic around it and decongests the centre. But not Sweden’s biggest city. (*Expressen* 22-04-10:2).

The emphasis on responsibility and responsible action is common to a large number of the articles surveyed. This often manifests itself as a form of economistic paternalism, in which economic decisions replace the direct paternalism of old Social Democratic planning in the context of metaphors of a growth economy.

This is occasionally counterbalanced by responsible approaches to conservation and the more traditional social paternalism of public transport provision which stresses the responsibility of politicians to provide a spatial welfare which guarantees inclusiveness and reduces spatial and economic inequalities. In both variations, such responsibility entails political actors becoming the guarantors of desired futures.

⁶⁸ Appendix II, 579

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FOLKOMRÖSTNING Att de rödgröna vänder sig till folket i frågan om Förbifart Stockholm handlar inte om att ta reda på vad väljarna tycker. I stället är det ett sätt att lösa en egen intern konflikt, skriver **LEIF LEWIN**, professor i statskunskap.

Ett sätt att smita från ansvar

Ända fram till 1800-talet stod ordet demokrati för det som vi idag kallar folkomröstning. De fria männen på torget, de filosoferande bönderna under eken skulle avgöra frågorna. Först under de senaste två hundra åren har den representativa demokratin blivit huvudprincipen för politiskt beslutsfattande men likt sedan länge torade blomsterkransar från födel-sedagar och högtidsrunder bevaras folkomröstningsinstitu-tet i de flesta författningar som en möjlighet att ta fram, när polit-ikerna tycker att det är lämpligt.



Mona Sahlin har riksdagsvalet i sikte. Maktkampen om Förbifart Stockholm ska avgöras av folket, ett beslut som gynnar Maria Wetterstrand, menar Leif Lewin. FOTO: JONAS EKSTRÖMER/SCANPIX

upp sin splittring. "Folket får av-göra" kommer det ritualiserade beskedet att lyda.

Uttallet av maktkampen väcker intresse. Ännu för några veckor sedan förklarade man på lokalt socialdemokratiskt håll att man var beredd att köra över Miljö-partiet och vänstern. Men Mona Sahlin har krävt rättning i ledet inför riksdagsvalet. Den goda stämningen de tre parterna emellan måste behållas. Därmed framskrider den populära Maria Wetterstrand som segrare eller ätminstone som etappsegrare.

Fig. 7.3 Debate article attacking the Red-Green coalition for their refusal to assume responsibility in the Förbifart Stockholm question. (Svenska Dagbladet 23-04-2010:2)

Necessity

Much of the debate is also characterised by frames of necessity and need. This is often used as justification for taking ‘tough decisions’, another minor frame. This takes the form of defining between what is needed and what is not needed, rather than desirability or aspiration. The following excerpt is from a leader⁶⁹ in *Svenska Dagbladet* entitled ‘No to a referendum on Förbifart Stockholm.’

Stockholm does not need a referendum on Förbifart Stockholm – it is just the Red-Greens who need it to solve their insurmountable political differences. If there were a change of government construction would be delayed by three years at best, and in the worst case it would not be built. What Stockholm needs is as quick a solution to the endemic traffic problems as soon as possible. (*Svenska Dagbladet*, 21-4-2010: 4)

The emphasis on necessity, and of necessity as a property overriding other priorities, entails the debate becoming less about aspiration and direction and more about facilitation and immediate action. The same article was presented in tandem with an illustration of a traffic jam and the caption ‘The alternative to Förbifart Stockholm’, as shown in Fig. 7.5, creating impressions of urgency which are intimately connected to virtues of responsibility and action. Necessity becomes a dominant frame in the anti-road arguments too, largely through the establishment of a dichotomy between the need to build roads and the need to improve and renew Sweden’s public transport system, alongside lesser needs such as the climate and habitat. In most cases environmental factors are there to be mitigated, with neither pro nor anti-road voices granting any value to the environment and its protection as an internal good.

⁶⁹ Appendix II, text 593



Alternativet till Förbifart Stockholm.

Fig. 7.4 The illustration and caption on a pro-road leader from *Svenska Dagbladet* (21-04-2010:4), asserting that congestion is the alternative to building the road.

This necessity of change is a feature of Green texts particularly. An interview⁷⁰ with Green Co-Spokesperson Peter Eriksson published in *Dagens Nyheter* frames it in the following way:

Yesterday MP presented their election manifesto, which says no to building more motorways. Spokesperson Peter Eriksson does not think that Förbifarten is necessary: “For a modern solution to traffic in Stockholm you use methods you know work like public transport and congestion charging.” (*Dagens Nyheter* 31-3-2010:8)

With the of necessity and responsibility being so dominant, it appears almost inevitable that this should eventually be adopted by anti-road voices as a means of articulating their vision for the region. This thus begins to challenge the necessity versus desirability division that overlaps with the of realism and responsibility, rather than utopianism. Implicit acceptance of the necessity of some form of action and change becomes an essential part of the discussion. This process is further discussed in the concluding chapter with reference to Ylva Ugglå’s analysis of Stockholm’s developmental storytelling and necessary change.

Democracy

In line with a debate focused so heavily around a parliamentary election, democracy is a key ethos of a variety of texts. This can take the form of the presumed consensual majority of the Alliance and Social Democrats, be found in the democratism of texts supporting a referendum or oppositional texts stressing the democratic values of access and social justice, or in the inclusion of Förbifart Stockholm in wider discussions of electoral politics and voter choice.

One instance of this is the newspaper report⁷¹ pictured in Fig. 7.5. in which an expert voice, the political scientist Folke Johansson, alleges that the idea of a referendum around Förbifart Stockholm would be anti-democratic. As a political scientist the author already embodies specific values of democracy, but also of professional expertise and objectivity. In attacking the idea of the referendum the democratic thus becomes undemocratic, playing on the memory of the inconclusive nuclear referendum.

⁷⁰ Appendix II, text 568

⁷¹ Appendix II, text 530

Folkomröstning sågas

Att låta riksdagen lagstifta om en regional folkomröstning är en absurditet och ett ingrepp i det kommunala självstyret, anser professor Folke Johansson. Dessutom menar han att de rödgröna följer den svenska traditionen att bluffa med folkomröstningar.

FOTO: GÖTEBORGS UNIVERSITET



FOTO: JONAS EKS TRÖMER

att bluffa med folkomröstningar är den om kärnkraften 1980. Där fanns tre alternativ och politiker-na är fortfarande inte eniga om vad folkomröstningen kom fram till.

Det här borde väl politikerna känna till?

– De känner säkert till det, men att konstruera en omröstning på det här sättet ger dem handlingsfrihet, säger Folke Johansson.

De socialdemokratiska kommun-närheten och oppositionsråden i Stockholms län accepterar, om än en aning motvilligt, kompromis-sen med en folkomröstning. De är också tämligen övertygade om att stockholmarna röstar ja till vägsatsningen.

– En folkomröstning är inte en optimal lösning, men den får bort Förbifarten som en extrem valfrå-

DEN UPPGÖRELSE OM Förbifart Stockholm som oppositionen pre-senterade på tisdagen innebär att invånarna i Stockholms län ska få rösta den 23 september 2012. Om de rödgröna vinner valet ställs Förbifarten mot en kollektivtra-fiksatsning.

– Så vitt jag känner till har vi aldrig tidigare sysslat med lagar som bara gäller vid ett tillfälle och bara i en del av landet, säger Folke Johansson, som är profes-

sor i statsvetenskap vid Göteborgs universitet och expert på folkom-röstningar.

Socialdemokraternas partile-dare Mona Sahlin tillbakavisar kritiken.

– Vi har förstås pratat med grund-lagskunniga för att tillförsäkra oss att en riksdag har en möjlighet att avgöra detta, sade Sahlin, på val-turné i Gävle, till DN.

Enligt Folke Johansson finns det ingen absolut formulering i

grundlagen som säger att det är oegorligt.

– Men det är under alla omstän-digheter inte lämpligt, om man vill hålla kvar vid det kommunala självstyret och vid att lagarna ska gäl-la generellt, säger han.

HAN MENAR OCKSÅ att det finns flera skäl att avstå från folkomröstningar utan klara och en tydliga alternati-v.

– Det mest tydliga exemplet på

ga, säger Freddie Lundqvist i Sol-lentuna.

Anders Lago, kommunalråd i Sö-dertälje, tror inte att uppgörelsen kommer att göra så stor skillnad i praktiken.

– En del av arbetet med Förbi-farten kan rulla på, jag utgår ifrån att man inte avbryter olika utred-ningar och undersökningar, säger Lago.

ARNE NÄRSTRÖM i Salem säger att samarbete kräver att man anpas-sar sig, men han tycker inte om kompromissen.

– Bygget skulle behöva komma i gång 2012. Jag har själv pendlat till Upplands Väsby och proble-met är enormt, säger Arne När-ström.

MIA TOTTMAR
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Fig. 7.5 A newspaper report with the headline ‘Referendum pulled apart’ which challenges the democratic legitimacy of the democratic referendum on Förbifart Stockholm. (*Dagens Nyheter* 22-04-2010:8)

The article contains the line ‘The clearest example of swindling it via referenda is the one on nuclear power from 1980. There were three options and politicians are still not agreed about what the result was.’ The effect of the analysis is that democratic values and principles become a contested concept, and that once again the rival democracies of liberal and leftist Sweden come into conflict. This can be contrasted with the Social-Democratic values of Eva Franchell and the democracy of space and development which guarantees equal representation of people in geographical terms relative to the democracy of political parties. It also illustrates the legacy of the nuclear debate in resolving environmental conflicts, citing the false choices of the energy referendum as being incompatible with consistent policy. Furthermore it plays into neoliberal scepticism of politicians as anything other than facilitators of natural, organic processes and rules of development, depriving them of any capacity as agents of social change.

There also arise third-party voices chastising political parties for undermining the democratic process. A general opinion column in *Expressen* in the run up to election day specifically mentions Förbifart Stockholm in the context of undemocratic behaviour. It contains the accusation: ‘The Moderates for their part were previously reported regarding how their candidate selections have worked. In Stockholm Sten Nordin and Co have run a race to the bottom in the campaign saying that the Social Democrats say no to Förbifart Stockholm, something which is not true. Sabotage posters and minor violations are par for the course for all parties.’ (Madon 2010) This level of distrust, but also of a desire to see decisions take place democratically and in an informed public forum, sets parameters on the debate and reinforces democracy as a public ethos

The national modern as goods

Almost all of the texts that feature Förbifarten as a central point of discussion form identities around the future or modernity. It is important to define between the two, as some aspirations for the future emphasise continuity, whilst others reflect a neo-modernity that runs counter to both conservationism and stasis. This has already been mentioned as part of the analysis of Yvonne Rydin’s debate text, whilst the Greens explicitly and consciously used narratives of modernity in both Förbifart Stockholm and the wider election campaign. This is illustrated in Fig.7.6, a poster run at the time of the election featuring the party’s two co-spokespeople with the tagline ‘Modernise Sweden.’ This was just one of many posters containing the same slogan, a blanket term designed

specifically to encapsulate ideas of social and environmental progress into one generically 'modern' narrative. Elsewhere it was applied to themes such as feminism, gay rights, renewable energy, rail investment and multiculturalism, locating all of the diverse aims of the party in a single temporal space. As is further discussed in the concluding chapter, this integration of societal and ecological modernisation mirrors Wiklund's assessment of Sweden's modernity to come and the speculation that 'a story of the path of modern Sweden should not focus on a singular social problem with modern society, but recall the differing forms of problem that have been identified'. (2006:423), a synthesis of new social movements and their requisite values. Similarly, in a discussion of infrastructure investments⁷² published in *Svenska Dagbladet* and written by Peter Eriksson and the Green MP Karin Svensson Smith, this temporal shift is evident in attempts to temporally locate specific types of technology within a specific temporal narrative that constructs past futures and uses notions of foresight:

At times of technical transition it is always hard to prove the worth of investments in advance. Stockholm's underground could never have broken even using today's cost-benefit analysis for infrastructure. There was doubt around expanding broadband and some said that the internet was just a passing fad. We are convinced that modern rail traffic is key to future travel and transport. (*Svenska Dagbladet*, 21-05-2010:5)

The text itself does not mention Förbifart Stockholm as a specific project, but appeared below a more right-leaning editorial on infrastructure and public spending, both of which were related to infrastructure planning by the different electoral blocks. This reliance on the innate but inherently unforeseeable ability of the future to enable dynamic change can be seen to correspond to Michael Moon's (2008:422) identification of two variations of future vision in Swedish Green politics, namely ecological modernists and post-modernists who envisage the ecologisation and complete reconstruction of contemporary society respectively. The recent moves within Sweden, in line with the general trend identified by Wiklund, would suggest a move toward a more ecologically modernist identity. Such an approach also consciously rejects fatalism or the avoidance of catastrophe and the previously mentioned crisis rhetoric criticised by Myers & McNaughton and Bruner & Oelenschlaeger, creating generally positive

⁷² Appendix II, text 606

identities which appear to illustrate the enduring value of the modern as an internal good.

This contrasts with Michael Moon's assertion that a truly Green post-modern praxis does not at the current time exist. (2008:423) This also seems to mirror Jenny Andersson (2009:232) in her finding that "This idea of virtually embodying modernity is part of the mythology around the Nordic countries ... but it is also a pervasive self-image of Swedish society.' Such modernistic identities are, I argue, particularly prevalent in post-millennial Green politics which has pursued a less universally moral argument in favour of a more general attempt to create an eco-modernistic *framstegsberättelse*.



Fig. 7.6 Election poster featuring Maria Wetterstrand and Peter Eriksson above the slogan 'Modernise Sweden!' (Miljöpartiet 2010)

Other Frames

In part due to the fact that the period of the Förbifart debate studied overlapped with the election campaign and a range of other political questions, there are a considerable number of lesser frames. These include ethos sets of compromise and consensus, localism, environmentalism, investment and more classically socialist and liberal political ethos. Consensus and compromise are prevalent in a number of examples, sometimes as a means of stressing political unity and sometimes as a means of creating a sense of justice around the Förbifart project. This plays on existing narratives of consensus politics and popular support. An analysis column⁷³ from *Svenska Dagbladet* by a conservative commentator, Göran Eriksson, with the headline ‘And so a head on crash was avoided’ is typical of this. Illustrated with pictures of the two opposing sides in the Red-Green alliance, Social Democrat Carin Jämtin and Yvonne Ruwaida from the Greens, it establishes a consensual ethos over confrontation. Ironically, the attempt at consensualism is then used against the Social Democrats through the imposition of a different consensus identified by the Liberal bloc. It contains the passage:

Carin Jämtin, opposition member in Stockholm, recently threatened to go behind the other coalition parties’ back and make a deal with the bourgeoisie parties.

Her colleague Yvonne Ruwaida had previously said that the Greens ‘cannot form an administration with the Social Democrats’ if they build Förbifart Stockholm.

A prize to a person who can make a compromise out of those statements.
(Eriksson 2010)

The implication is that consensus and agreement are naturally good and that the arbitrary division created within the Red-Greens is both paradoxical and undemocratic.

⁷³ Appendix II, text 595

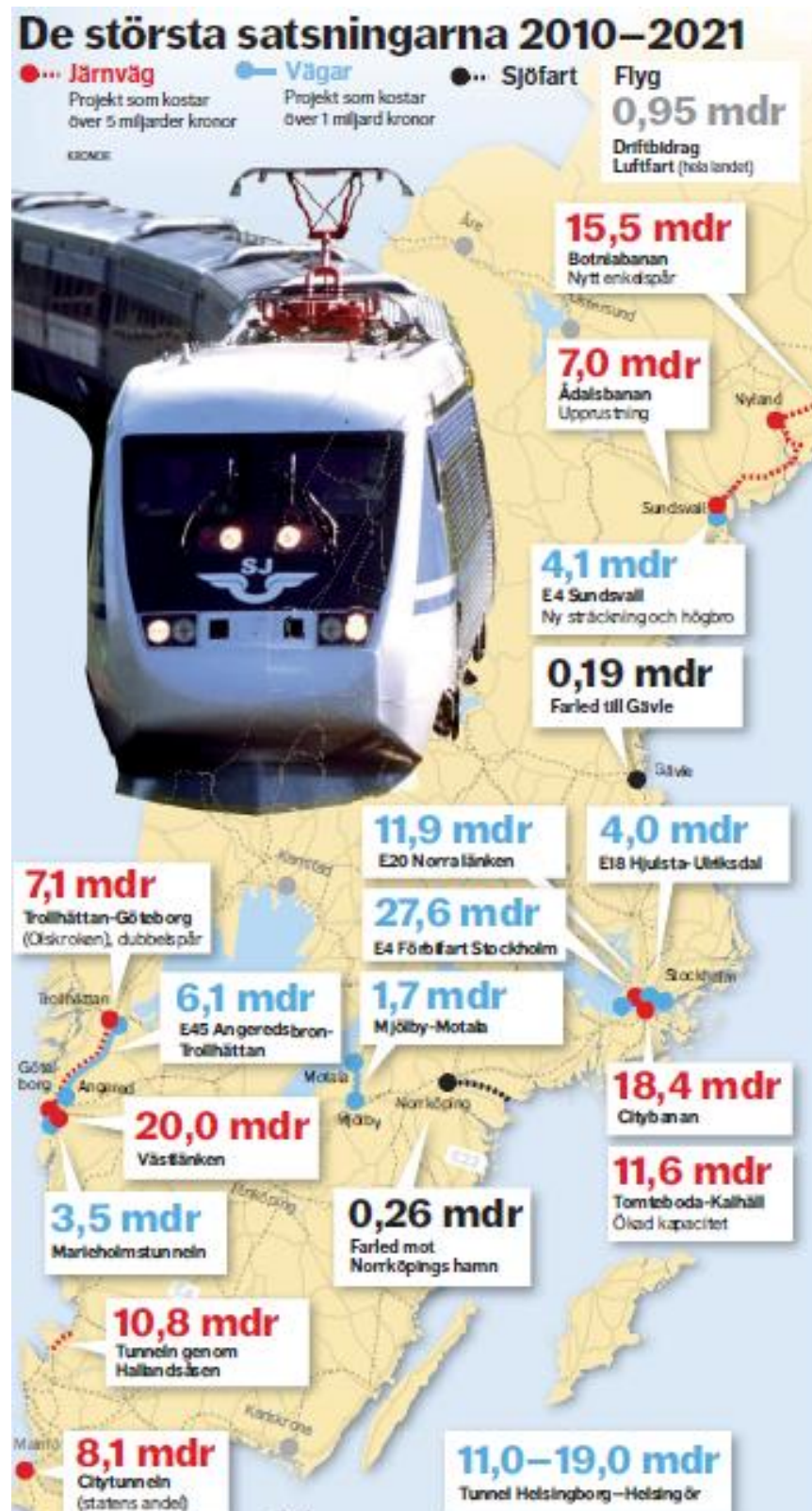


Fig 7.7 A graphic showing the government's total 'investments in state infrastructure over road, rail and air capacity'. (*Dagens Nyheter* 31-03-2010:8)

The same article also contains the accusation ‘Now they [The Red-Greens] are seeking to remove themselves from the sell-out debate by letting Stockholm’s populace make a decision about the infrastructure investments.’ This attack on the absolutism of the referendum ignores the absolutism of the Alliance government and their use of a dichotomy between construction or abandonment as an election tool as the inability to achieve consensus becomes a moral failing of the parties involved.

Environmentalism enters the debate in a few forms. As shown in Analysis 1, there are attempts to adopt environmentalist and conservationist identities by pro-road voices through the delineation of environment into a finite concept which can be ‘taken care of’, whilst the Greens have an implicitly environmental ethos in everything they do by virtue of their more general identity and more specifically their naming as ‘The environmental party.’ The Centre Party, who marketed themselves in the general election and since as ‘The Alliance’s Green Voice’ [*Alliansens gröna röst*] (Centerpartiet 2014), for example also embody an ethos of assumed environmentalism. In a report on Stockholm’s green spaces⁷⁴ published on the 8th of September 2010 in the run up to the election, Centre environment minister Anders Calgren is quoted as saying:

Construction is not impossible to combine with nature reserves, but there does need to be a restrictive approach there. That will be evident in the conditions laid down that there will be clear protection for green spaces and natural assets. (*Svenska Dagbladet* 08-09-2010: 7)

The introduction of textual identities of assumed environmentalism illustrate the extent to which environmentalism is presumptive in the debate. This can to a degree be used to explain why arguments of democracy, financial expediency and modernity are more prevalent, whereas green concerns are delegitimised by way of trust in a more nebulous general environmental ethic.

The presence of investment as an internal good situates the debate firmly within metaphors of capitalism, so that even Green references to investment assume the same form. Fig. 7.7 shows a graphic⁷⁵ compiled by *Dagens Nyheter* outlining the largest infrastructure ‘investments’ in Sweden between 2010 and 2021. Förbifart Stockholm is shown as by being far the largest, but is contextualised as part of a wider investment

⁷⁴ Appendix II, text 614

⁷⁵ Appendix II, text 598

strategy on a national forum. This is the same strategy of renaming and collocation discussed in relation to the Alliance for Sweden text on transport as a single concept through the creation of Trafikverket.

The idea of infrastructure as investment is difficult to combat due to the positive connotations of investment as a metonym for improvement. In the texts from mainstream media in the election period there is little evidence of any attempts to lend nuance to the concept through use of good or bad investments, particularly through the concept of risks. Instead 'environmental investments' have become a fundamental concept. *Klimatinvesteringar* and *klimatsatsningar* have thus become stock concepts, being used for example by the Swedish International Development Agency in overseas aid (SIDA 2014) and The Social Democrats (Socialdemokraterna 2012) in investments in the green economy. An overview of national investments meanwhile reveals a disparity in road to public transport spending, but the renaming of these into a single group prevents the establishment of the dichotomy demanded by environmentalists (Government of Sweden 2009).

7.11 Summary

Viewed in the context of the local and national elections, the Förbifart Stockholm debate is an environmental discussion only in terms of what environmentalists could hope to gain from it, but it occurred without environmental topicality or the assertion of a primary ethic of environmentalism. It is constructed and used primarily as a political tool, becoming an instrumental topic in the wider projects of different political parties rather than an end in itself. The narrative constructed by popular media thus became an issue of leadership and vision versus inaction and irresponsibility, rather than the merits of the project. As mentioned, this is different to the fundamentally technocratic discourse surrounding the nuclear question with conceptions of risk based on growth rather than safety and a general uninterest in the environmental science or ethics of building or not building the motorway.

The end of oppositional environmentalism?

Considering the obvious environmental implications of Förbifart Stockholm, it is notable just how small a role environmentalist ethic and identities play in the discussion around the election. This relates to the 'assumed environmentalism' previously outlined. Rather than a narrative dichotomy being established between environmentalists and

non-environmentalists both news coverage and politically-authored texts construct the debate temporally. This is not to say that environmental concerns are entirely absent, but that as a means of informing public opinion and providing an ethical framework they are not a popular or effective tool given the multi-faceted approach of electoral politics.

Where older conservationist textual identities arise they do so from the right of the political spectrum in mentions of the preservation of green space and natural assets, as well as in the idea that environmental concerns can be addressed as part of a range of measures rather than as a context in itself. Conversely, and as is further discussed in the concluding chapter with regard to the challenges of plotting a new radical environmentalism, this also illustrates how environmental concerns have become mainstream. This is particularly evident in terms of the emphasis placed on moving the Förbifart Stockholm project into a tunnel and the constant attempts to balance investments in public and private transport instead of a more radical environmental approach.

Choosing futures

The collocation of a societal environmentalism with the modern on the part of MP and the creation of a neo-environmentalism is noteworthy in that it attempts to tackle ideas of green movements as anti-progress head on. It tries to illustrate that the interests of the population at large, and not just of the environmental lobby, stand to benefit from a political philosophy still rooted in ecologism internally if not externally.

This is particularly evident in the strategies of Green politicians to temporally locate their political project in opposition to but also utilising the same language of progress as their neoliberal counterparts. By attempting to redefine what is modern and what a modern identity would entail, in terms of its impact on moral agency, and through the double electoral opportunities of the general election and a hypothetical referendum on the road, a choice is thus given between a new stage of modernisation or the continuation of the anachronistic paradox of sustainability in tandem with roadbuilding. This creation of a future in the present is reminiscent of the narrative constructions of temporality previously discussed by Giddens and MacIntyre. Such a process attempts, I

argue, to connect the individual choice of citizens in a specific present to idealised future selves.

Ultimately the debate presents a choice between the Moderate articulation of the future described by Ljunggren and the eco-modernistic project of the Greens, a project which nonetheless goes beyond previous Social Democrat strategies of ecological modernisation. The debate is, however, defined by its constants including metaphors of growth and adaption and the maintainance of security and prosperity. As such, the *framstegsberättelse* of social progress is dominant, with the real conflict being the articulation of an appropriate vision for the fulfillment of the progressive society rather than a deeper criticism of society as currently exists.

This modernistic project is also a key component in a narrative transition toward legitimacy for Green politics in Sweden, particularly with regard to the specific aims of Green politicians to govern and attempts to counter the perceived competence of the Alliance for Sweden. This same strategy is also evident in the eventual declaration of government given by the Social Democrats in coalition with the Greens four years later (Socialdemokraterna 2014)

7.12 Reading the debate

At the time of writing the future of the project is still unresolved, with the project being dependent on its affordability in relation to promised improvements in public transport. Although the election of 2010 did not result in victory for opponents of the road, the practice established through the debate itself strengthened opposition to the project and was able to established the basis of an alternative vision for Stockholm which may now become a reality.

Moreover, the relationship between the Green party and the Social Democrats exposed some of the paradoxes of the ecological modernisation strategy previously followed, in part because new discourses on climate change have altered the discursive landscape and necessitated an environmentalism beyond questions purely of pollution and conservation.

What this entails for the future of the assumed environmentalism of cross-party Sweden is not easy to predict, but by implicitly accepting the identities and planning metaphors of contemporary liberal development the environmental movement exhibits a normative

societal consensus at the same time as non-environmentalists increasingly use environmentalism as a precondition for government and the wielding of political power. What it most clearly illustrates is that the Green movement has showed itself capable of coopting a variety of textual and communicative identities in order to create new narratives about itself, aiming if not always succeeding to create new and dynamic narrative identities which rearticulate older values with an understanding of the importance of their legitimacy.

As is further discussed in the following chapter, this has implications for the way in which the goods of environmentalism should be interpreted in contemporary Sweden, but also in the rhetorical uselessness of being green. Above all, it illustrates a process of identification of existing traditions in the public space which can be annexed to achieve environmental goods and to establish new types of practice from extant traditions in relation to a potential new stage of eco-modernity.

8. Our common, contested future: Doxologies of modernity and narratives of understanding

8.1 Introduction

This concluding chapter seeks to bring together the findings of the three cases examined in chapters five, six and seven by further discussing the quantitative findings of the period as a whole, addressing the central question of an identifiable Swedish approach to environmental questions and discussing the implications of these findings. This occurs in terms of the notion of a particular Swedish articulation of social values and how this is reproduced over time in changing contexts by authors to achieve certain goods.

This chapter also makes further reference to the contents of the database used in the quantitative aspects of this study. In line with the research aim of this thesis to map and speculate on the continuities of modern Swedish environment, the common ethos frames of the total textual corpus are discussed and grouped under the broad headings of security and vision, democracy, and nation and community in relation to additional material from the period studied. In a similar manner to the individual chapters, it takes specific examples from the corpus which best illustrates the commonality of these textual characteristics and their implications for the way in which the values of environmental debate in Sweden should be viewed.

This is then expanded and reflected upon in terms of the structures of these systems of value and their production firstly in closer relation to the narrative theory of Alasdair MacIntyre, and latterly in terms of a doxological approach to 'environmental' knowledge drawing on the work of Jim Kuypers, Ruth Amossy and Mats Rosengren. This discussion then concludes that the environment in modern Sweden is subject to the same discursive rules as any challenge to develop a cohesive self understanding of modernity, albeit with specific contextual circumstances to which attention must be paid.

Using these conclusions as a starting point, I discuss their role as part of an evolving normative meta-narrative and assess the usefulness of such approaches external to the area of study, including contemporary debates on gender and feminism, economic equality and urbanism. Using the idea of parallel national modernities and their

associated *doxa*, it briefly considers what this might look like using Scotland as a comparative case, and argues for a more nuanced understanding of environment as a narrative concept in both a Northern European and global context.

Ultimately, it assesses the worth of instrumental discourse as an avenue for the replication of environmental ethical norms through rearticulation and situation in new contexts. This entails a more practice-based approach to the achievement of multiple sustainabilities and eco-modernities which take as their starting point the inherent pluralism of multiple traditions over the establishment and perpetuation of a single uniform arch-narrative of environmental practice. As part of this I speculate briefly on what role the journalist and other media practitioners (as opposed to activists and politicians) have to play in the authorship of such transformation. Finally, with reference to MacIntyre, I argue for the primacy of contextual narratives over rational argumentation in the construction of parallel but complementary narratives of both the present and future environments.

8.2 Cumulative project data

This study assembled 972 newspaper articles of varying types, as outlined in the previous three case studies, generating a 40-year corpus of interrelated debate and discussion, the cumulative frames of which are rendered in the word cloud in Fig. 8.1. The entire corpus consisted of 174 texts from *Aftonbladet*, 332 from *Dagens Nyheter*, 198 from *Expressen* and 267 from *Svenska Dagbladet*. Although heavily influenced by the overwhelming amount of material generated by the nuclear referendum, this cumulative data still exposes various general trends, with the higher level of coverage by broadsheet newspapers being particularly notable. The total corpus can then be broken down into 47 adverts (almost entirely from the nuclear debate), 138 debate articles by politicians and public figures, 106 newspaper editorial leaders, and 327 news-based articles. These can be further broken down into news reporting (259) and more expansive news features (68). There were also a number of other article types of less significance to the corpus from areas as diverse as sport reporting and TV listing to culture features.

What is evident from the context of the texts retrieved, as well as their content, is the diversity of both form and location across different aspects of the print media. In the case of the nuclear referendum in particular there is an evident spread across article genre, whilst in the case of Förbifart Stockholm it becomes clear how the question of the bypass is quickly tied, in printed context at least, to other questions domestic electoral politics and societal futures. In both the nuclear and roadbuilding case studies this often takes the form of news spreads giving general updates on all sides of an issue.

In each case it is also possible to trace the convergence of the individual questions with the agenda and interest of the mainstream media surveyed in the textual corpus. In the case of Förbifart Stockholm for example mentions of the project increase as the general election approaches due to the way in which the debate became instrumentalised, despite the issue and opposition to it being longstanding. This is similarly so in the nuclear debate, where the referendum itself rather than the broader nuclear question achieves critical mass in the three months preceding the vote and almost daily coverage. This effect is most evident though in the case of the Vindel conflict, where media interest peaks as the regionalised debate becomes relevant to the machinations of national government and the politics of the capital city. It is thus possible to speculate on what constitutes the 'goods' within the environmental conflicts studied and how this affects the behaviour of authors and agents.

8.3 Reading the debates

The significant corpus created by combining the three case studies under the ethos-based application of the TODA model yields a wide range of disparate but interconnected textual identities, the most important of which are now discussed in relation to specific typical textual examples. Across the total corpus there also exist a large number of lesser textual identities, including variations on environmentalism and the more numerous economism and the provision of information and democracy. I now look at the function of the most dominant of these identities, and what that might mean in comparative perspective. I also argue that such characteristics of text and author can better illustrate the goods being instrumentally utilised in each debate and how this establishes a normative practice of environment.

Visions of security

Looking back quantitatively at the project's total corpus, it is evident that variations on vision are dominant, but where vision as quality dominates over specific visions. Given the temporally flexible and intergenerational nature of many environmental concerns, as well more general discourses on development, this is not in itself of note. The striking thing, however, is not that the future becomes a point of argument in itself, but rather that developing a future vision, alternative or as a matter of continuity, becomes a precondition to argument and the avoidance of resistant readings. This is intimately related to the acceptance of necessity, the need to exhibit agency over inaction and the creation of a positive agenda. Such properties on the part of both texts and their authors can be characterised as goods. In terms of textual ethe, it is also possible to surmise that failing to articulate a vision constitutes a strategic mistake and lies outwith the doxological field, as I now show.

The text reproduced in Fig. 8.2 is a newspaper article accusing the Social Democratic party of a failure of vision⁷⁶. Written with regard to the 2010 elections, it makes reference to their general incapacity to articulate a plan for the future, a property used against them by opponents from all sides of the political spectrum. This is related to an apparent inability to provide certainty and security, and where alternatives are presented they are rubbished as lacking ambition. The standfirst of the article shown reads 'Now the party is offering city-dwellers a new vision – lugging dirty clothes to the Metro.' It is made in reference to a flagship policy then-leader Mona Sahlin's party to place launderettes in metro stations as a way of helping people going to and from work. This can be contrasted with the article⁷⁷ reproduced in Fig. 8.3, a report on the progression of the Vindelälven conflict in which an agent, two members of the Swedish parliament, articulates an alternative suggestion that satisfies the apparent need created by the situation. The suggestion is almost uniformly positive, proposing a solution to the economic needs of the area (and thereby embodying a variation of economism as ethos) whilst positing a plan that would leave the river intact. It contains the statement that 'A recreational resort of international standing would serve to stimulate tourism and increase consumption in the local service industry. As proof of this high class recreational resorts in Switzerland, France and West Germany are cited.'

⁷⁶ Appendix II, text 556

⁷⁷ Appendix II, text 34

Prilligast hittills

År 2006 gjorde Socialdemokraterna ett katastrofval i Stockholm. Nu erbjuder partiet storstadsborna en ny vision – att kånka smutsiga kläder till tunnelbanan.

DN.

OBEROENDE LIBERAL

ALLA SOM DE senaste åren åkt med Stockholms tunnelbana i rusningstid vet att det är trångt, svettigt och stressigt. Tågen är ofta överfulla och saknar luftkonditionering. De senaste 20 åren har Stor-Stockholm växt från 1,6 till 2 miljoner invånare, men kapaciteten i tunnelbanan har inte följt efter. Senaste gången det skedde en rejäl utbyggnad var i mitten av 1970-talet, då den blåa linjen byggdes.

NÄR SOCIALDEMOKRATERNA i Stockholm i går tog till orda på DN Debatt under parollen "Mer tid att leva", var det rimligt att förvänta sig förslag som gör situationen i kollektivtrafiken draglig. Men i stället för att diskutera de problem som stockholmarna dagligen tåmpas med, lanserade partiet valrörelsens mest prilliga förslag hittills – tvätt i tunnelbanan.

Partiets två frontfigurer i Stockholm, Ilija Batljan och Carin Jämtin, föreslår att SL:s stationer ska göra plats för fler privata tvätterier, till vilka man mot betalning ska kunna lämna sin smutsiga tvätt på morgonen och hämta den på kvällen. Särskilt bra sägs förslaget vara för pres-

sade småbarnsföräldrar som behöver mer tid för att "älska och skratta".

Att duon Batljan och Jämtin inte skämtar förstår man när de i samma artikel marknadsför sitt förslag som den stora välfärdsreformen efter satsningen på dagis och införandet av föräldraförsäkringen.

STOCKHOLMSVISIONEN inför valet är alltså inte att kollektivtrafiken ska byggas ut ordentligt och uppgraderas. Den är att huvudstadens föräldrar ska kånka på stora Ikeakassar med smutsiga kläder till det överfulla tunnelbanesystemet, när de är på väg till jobbet och precis lämnat barnen på dagis.

Partiet har dessutom kommit på snilleblixten att föräldrarna ska köpa hjälp av en personlig butler på t-banestationen, vad nu den personen ska göra med tanke på att det tunga redan är buret.

Uppenbarligen förstår Socialdemokraterna inte livet som småbarnsförälder – eller så vet man ingenting om situationen i tunnelbanan.

Det finns sedan några år tillbaka ett avdrag för hushållsnära tjänster som fått en helt ny bransch att växa fram. Den erbjuder stockholmarna precis den avlastning som Batljan och Jämtin nu säger sig

eftersträva. Ändå vill deras parti avskaffa hushållsavgiften, vilket riskerar att lägga en död hand över näringen, och ersätta det med politikerbeställd hjälp i kollektivtrafikens lokaler.

Man vill dessutom detaljreglera vilka typer av företag som ska få erbjuda tjänster. Det tycks inte ha slagit Batljan och Jämtin att resenärerna kanske föredrar pressbyråer framför kemtvätt och att det är kapacitetsbristen som är problemet i kollektivtrafiken – inte avsaknaden av tvätterier och butlers.

Socialdemokraterna har länge haft problem med opinionen i Stockholm. I det senaste valet 2006 hamnade man på låga 23,2 procent. Och i Statistiska centralbyråns stora partiundersökning i maj var siffran ännu lägre, trots att partiet haft fyra år på sig att göra något åt saken.

Det har talats mycket om behovet av förnyelse, men med en månad kvar till riksdagsvalet syns något annat.

SOCIALDEMOKRATERNA möter väljarna med löften om att återinföra fastighets- och förmögenhetsskatten, avskaffa rut- och rotavdraget, skjuta frågan om Förbifart Stockholm till en folkomröstning samt erbjuda stockholmarna sidotjänster i tunnelbanan i stället för avlastning i hemmet.

En bra politik för storstaden? Med ett sådant program har Socialdemokraterna samlat ihop till ett nytt nederlag.

DN 17/8 2010

Fig. 8.2 A leader from *Dagens Nyheter* with the headline 'Maddest yet'. (17-8-2010:2)

Gör Vindeln till kurort föreslår riksdagsmän

En motion om inrättande av en kurortanläggning i Vindelådalen ligger just nu på riksdagens bord. Den är skriven av Gunvor Stenberg (m) och Per Jacobsson (fp) och bygger på tankegångar som redan tidigare kommit fram i lokaliseringspolitiska debatter och i pressen, nämligen att sälja service med hög sysselsättningseffekt.

Motionärerna påpekar att lokaliseringspolitiken hittills inriktats på att skapa ökade sysselsättningsmöjligheter inom industrin och, i någon mån, turismen. Däremot har man inte ägnat någon större uppmärksamhet åt servicesidan.

Med hänsyn till såväl medicinska som lokaliseringspolitiska skäl borde man, enligt motionärerna, undersöka förutsättningarna för att bygga en rekreationsanläggning med vårdspecialisering i övre Norrland. Som lämplig lokaliseringsort föreslås Vindeln, där det redan finns värdefulla servicemöjligheter som lätt kan byggas ut och dessutom vacker natur.

STIMULERA TURISMEN

Vindeln ligger inte alltför långt från Umeå universitet och medicinsk forskning. Specialister från Umeå och Lycksele lasarett kan med bil komma dit på mindre än en timme. Detta gör att regionen skulle kunna bli ett vårdcentrum med stor kapacitet och internationellt klientel.

Med hjälp av modern teknik skulle man här kunna skapa en mycket attraktiv miljö med infravärmda loggior, shishallar och solarier. Samtidigt som den omgivande naturen erbjuder talrika möjligheter till idrott och friluftsliv.

Vid en anläggning av det här slaget skulle personalbehovet bli mycket stort. Motionärerna räknar med en konstant sysselsättningseffekt som ungefär motsvarar antalet årsanställda under en period

på 10-15 år om Vindelälven byggs ut. Speciellt värdefullt är att kurortstälten även skapar många arbetstillfällen för den kvinnliga arbetskraften, säger man i motionen.

Man påpekar också att en rekreationsort med internationellt rykte skulle kunna verka stimulerande för turismen och innebära en ökad konsumtion av lokalservice. Som bevis för detta framhålls

att förstklassiga rekreationsorter i Schweiz, Frankrike och Västtyskland blivit välkända och attraktiva turistorter.

Motionärerna anser att det borde vara möjligt för staten att med lokaliseringsmedel investera i en sådan här anläggning. Staten ligger ju redan, genom AB Kurortsverksamhet, de kurortanläggningar som f. n. finns i landet, nämligen i Åre, Tranås och Nynäshamn.

ANNA BRITT GABRIELSSON

Vild Norrlandsmink skall snabbutrotas

LULEÅ. (SvD:s korr.) För kort tid sedan konstaterade jaktvårdskonsulent Rune Almqvist, Luleå, att stora minkutsläpp skett under hösten bl. a. från en stor minkfarm i nedre Tornedalen, där jägare under några veckor fångat ett stort antal förrymda minkar. Länsstyrelsen i Luleå har efter samråd haft ett hastigt påkommet möte, där minkproblemet i Norrbotten diskuterats. Länsstyrelsen har nu beslutat att genom sin naturvårdssektion i samråd med länsjaktvårdsföreningen göra upp en aktionsplan för hur man skall få bukt med minkproblemet i Norrbotten. Man avser att söka arbetsmarknadsmedel för att utrota minken.

Vid sammanträdet på länsstyrelsen, som leddes av landssekreterare Lars Hultman, redogjorde jaktvårdsfolk, representerade av jaktvårdskonsulent Almqvist och ordföranden i länsföreningens arbetsutskott, jägmästare Gunnar Plym-Förshell, för den allvariga situation som uppstår efter utsläppet. Vildmink förekommer redan i

viss mån över hela länet. Från fiskvårdshåll har man bl. a. genom Norrbottens fritidsfiskareförening krävt att minkflykten från farmerna omedelbart stoppas.

Hittills har också genom arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen cirka en miljon kronor satsats för restaurering av nedlagda flottleder och inplantering av ädelfisk. Dessutom finns ädelfisk och kräfter inplanterade i många enskilda vatten.

Vid sammanträdet beslutade länsstyrelsen att nu låta byrådirektör C. O. Sundt vid länsstyrelsens naturvårdssektion och jaktvårds konsulent Rune Almqvist snabbt utarbeta en aktionsplan för hur man skall komma tillrätta med minkproblemet. Landssekreterare Hultman uppgav efter sammanträdet att man var enig om att minken definitivt är ett djur som inte hör hemma i vår fauna och vars spridning måste stoppas.

Länsstyrelsen förbereder inom de allra närmaste dagarna nya sammanträden för att söka utreda hur man genom allmänna insatser kan hjälpa till att lösa frågan.

Fig 8.3 'Transform the Vindel into a spa resort, suggests parliamentarian'. Svenska Dagbladet (01-03-1970:34)

Rösta Nej! Linje 3.

Fyllnamnet: _____ Nei till Kärnkraft, Box 16387, 123 26 Stockholm • Tel. 08-14 10 00. Postgiro 30090-5



Fig. 8.4 ‘Instead of nuclear power’, a detailed plan for the alternative economy in an advert from *Folkampanjen: Nej till kärnkraft* articulating a detailed alternative roadmap for society (*Expressen* 16-02-1980:21)

By proposing an alternative to the peripheral extraction economy outlined by Ebba Lisberg-Jansen in relation to Norrland, it seeks to internationalise the region through a normalisation of the peripheral. This can then be further contrasted with the advert⁷⁸ reproduced in Fig. 8.4, an advert from *Folkekampanjen Nej till kärnkraft* that pitches an alternative vision and offers a detailed 40 year timescale for transition, outlining exactly what will happen and how it will be of benefit to the country both economically and socially.

A constant is the idea that, whilst governments, people and the state possess an agency, this is deployed in adapting to a changing future in order to guarantee security. Illegitimate visions are thus discounted, combining a belief in the ability of the state or society as a collective construct with a generally fatalistic view in which security is a constant. This also gives weight to Giddens' previously mentioned analysis of the way in which the future is constantly constructed in the present.

As Ash Amin (2010) notes, Sweden is characterised by an unusually developed apparatus and belief in planning for future risk and articulating visions of response to emergencies, natural and humanitarian challenges. This is supported by work carried out by Anna Olofsson and Susanna Öhman (2007) on personal narratives of risk and security in Sweden in which risk planning is articulated as a Swedish value. Risk (and its accommodation) itself meanwhile remains one of the more dominant textual characteristics across the debate. Similarly, Thomas Wilhelmsson (2000:619) has addressed the relationship between notions of risk and its effect on legal notions of codified culpability and responsibility within the notion of both social and society security and Uggla (2002) has summarised the Swedish welfare state as 'a risk society permeated by a security culture.' In which 'The political address to citizens covets the view that it is the task of politicians to guarantee citizen's security.' It has also been suggested that risk management has come to function as a primary characteristic of governance itself in the relative stability of postwar Swedish welfare society (Lidskog, Sundqvist, Uggla 2005). Where the negation of risk is a good, it falls to authors to present themselves as capable of negating such risk.

⁷⁸ Appendix II, text 896

This interplay between responsibility and risk management is further developed by Uggla (2012: 79) in her summary of Stockholm's developmental storytelling, asserting; 'The narrative of Stockholm calls for change; what is needed is not only a change of planning direction, but also of views and perspectives. The plot of the narrative comprises four elements: (1) great expectations for future Stockholm, (2) planning history and its shortcomings and contemporary challenges, (3) planning as an effective tool with which to meet these challenges and remedy the shortcomings and (4) the need for a changed planning direction.'

Rather than urban utopianism, the need to meet challenges and provide security becomes a central preoccupation of voices within the debates. Uggla's analysis of this negation of future risk through articulations of future development is, I argue, applicable to the country as a whole within the general values of modernistic change. In this process functionally environmental arguments are by necessity presented as means through their rearticulation as sensible steps in the narrative of necessary change, adaption and responsible governance.

Contested democracies

Returning to the aggregate word cloud, and in line with the political nature of the three case studies, democracy is a consistent characteristic of the corpus. The major dividing line within this democratic continuity lies between the idea of democracy by popular deliberation or governance by mandate, with the 'green' voices often finding themselves opposed to actors enjoying majority electoral support. Although Sweden is consistently hailed as a global democratic leader, currently holding a top classification in global democracy indexes (Freedom House 2013), as Erik Hysing (2012:969) notes, the notion of democracy is both contested and open to interpretation, not least with regards to its ability to safeguard the environment using 'the traditional policy style at the Swedish national level in which co-operation and consensus seeking with a broad range of interests have been considered key to legitimate policies', but which 'can have a negative impact on the vitality of civil society, often considered key to democratic well-being.'

The difference between civil society, and by extension communities and non-political/opposition voices and the political sphere, allows the co-existence of different types of democracy but the maintenance of democracy as an absolutely necessary

characteristic of texts within the debates. This is typified particularly by the Vindelälven conflict, but is also present in different forms in both of the other case studies.

In the nuclear referendum for example, Olof Palme is able to claim ‘Every principal positive social development in Sweden requires the cooperation of the democratic labour movement’⁷⁹ whilst facing off against *Folkekampanjen - Nej till kärnkraft*, a self-styled popular civic campaign that attempts to neutralise the dominant electoral forces (It should be noted that there was nothing like an electoral majority for the anti-nuclear parties at the time.) The use of referenda as the ultimate (but non-binding) tool of arbitration thus challenges the legitimacy of elected majorities in executing policy but prevents moves to technocratic governance. The result is a process whereby democracy is countered with democracy and representative conceptions clash with deliberative approaches. This mirrors Wiklund’s description of the rival democracies of socialist and liberal modernity (2005:371) around the central immovable concept of democracy as a national marker.

In the case of Förbifart Stockholm this is exploited to pre-empt the deliberative process through the creation of the general and municipal elections themselves as a virtual referendum on the issue. A series of posters which appeared in Stockholm before the election day sought to collocate the Moderate and Social Democrat parties with specific standpoints, utilising the fact that the shorthand used for the parties formed the leftmost and rightmost letters of the word Stockholm. This could then be used to emphasise that a vote for the Moderates was a ‘yes’ to the project and a vote for the Social Democrats a ‘no’. One such poster is shown in Fig. 8.5.

The poster was issued by The Moderates in the run up to the election, re-emphasising the key strategic message that a vote for the Social Democrats (S) was a vote against the construction of Förbifart Stockholm, with a vote for the Moderates being synonymous with a vote for the project. Although this was not actually the case, it gave voters a means of supposedly registering their approval or disapproval of the scheme and thus give the Moderates the illusory mandate of widespread public approval. The democratisation of the project thus becomes a means to overcome opposition, exploiting the flexible understanding of democracy as a concept whilst still adhering to

⁷⁹ Cf. Ch.5 Analysis 1.

its central position in the debate. This can be compared to the Vindelälven conflict in which the ongoing arguments for and against the damming of the Vindel took a more deliberative form, with opponents accepting that there were a range of options and diverse voices in concert with one another developing a deliberative counter narrative to the absolutism of centralised state planning.

The Vindel conflict in international context also exposes the situated nature of the Swedish democratic tradition. A comparison to ostensibly similar projects in Scotland's history of hydro-electric development for example show an emphasis on the preservation of landscape and private land rights but with the absence of discussions of democracy, deliberative or parliamentary, in attitudes to environmental exploitation (Reid, Pillai, Black 2005). Their economic vision meanwhile relied heavily on the short term appointment of Highland casual labour or immigrant workers as opposed to long term economic development (Wood 2002: 97) or attempts to involve local people in developing their own economic future. What is striking about the media presentation of the Vindel is the agency granted to community over the state or landowner in rhetorical terms, even though political power rested firmly with those in favour of development.

As previously outlined in chapter five, the Vindel debate succeeded in part by creating a community in the public media that could be used to challenge the legitimacy of central government planning and provide alternative visions in the development of economic welfare that were to a greater degree developed by and alongside those affected than was the case in the United Kingdom. A narrative deficit in the representation and democratisation of debates in Scotland is similarly evident in questions of roadbuilding and energy, as well as urbanism, where local planning is designed to benefit strong agents of the state or private enterprise without the engagement or narrative representation of community (Planning Democracy 2013) (Lykke Sysse 2010). This presumption of democracy in the case of Sweden also facilitates the phenomenon described by Guy Baeten (2010:39) in his analysis of contemporary suburban development, whereby Swedish neo-liberal planning can be seen through the same lens as historical social-democratic planning, with the caveat that 'Contemporary urban *politics*, then, would be nothing else than the *disruption* of this managerial urban order through reclaiming democratic decision procedures, or demand discussion around alternative development ideas.' Attempts at introducing a more deliberative democracy

to developmental questions thus meet resistance in terms of ‘popular opinion’, but with very little analysis of how this opinion is generated and without proper consideration of the nature of the political mandates under which it is carried out.

In terms of how these general democratic identities play out in practice, the challenge for any potential agents seeking to change the debates is thus to recognise the primacy of democracy as a concept whilst simultaneously challenging the legitimacy of democratically elected voices and aiming to gain traction in the public arena without recourse to populism. The maintenance of democratic character is important in the achievement of legitimacy within the general framework of the democratic system.

Although electorally similar in size and with relatively similar environmental policies (Naturskyddsföreningen 2014: 26), the prominence accorded to the Swedish Green Party in the mainstream press during the Stockholm Bypass debate – including the conservative *Svenska Dagbladet* – relative to the Swedish Left party evident in the corpus. Not only does this reveal an imbalance in the apparently level playing field of a ‘model’ democratic system, it is suggestive of the fact that the neo-modernistic rearticulation of democracy by and relative newness of Green voices themselves give them a forum unattainable by more traditional anti-capitalist rhetoric. This is particularly notable given the fact that both the Swedish Green Party and the Left Party possessed the same aim in stopping the road project, but the identities constructed to do so appear quite different.



Fig 8.5. Poster used to emphasise the Moderate collocation of the election and the Förbifart Stockholm project. (Photo: Marika Lindgren Åsbrink)

Nation and community

Many of the dominant frames from the textual corpus can be grouped collectively as manifestations of community or unity as an end in itself, whether it be the interconnected nation, the nation as a global leader, the region or even the political party. To an extent these identities can be seen as composites of some of the other ethe outlined, including the shared city, the democratic nation state or the common interest of generation, gender and class. The Social Democratic Party, being an extant community, have utilised identity heavily as a rhetorical tool, particularly in the nuclear question. This is typified by the advert shown in Fig. 8.7 which ‘recommends’ that ‘members and supporters’ vote for the temporary retention of nuclear energy, but is equally evident in the creations of apolitical community in the case of hydro-electric development ⁸⁰ or the attempts at establishing a temporal community constructed from ‘modern’ values by the Swedish Green Party on the one hand and the Moderate party on the other in its invocation of the national community as a global leader. This is shown in the promotional text from their website in Fig. 8.6. Particularly noteworthy is the pastoral imagery in the illustration which locates Swedishness in a particular geographical context whilst also emphasising the global implementation of these ‘Swedish’ values.

There are also uses of community external to the nation as a whole, including the re-assertion of identities and values of political community. In cases such as the more moderating influences of the Social Democrats in the nuclear question and the (in this case interestingly named) Alliance for Sweden parties in motorway development This kind of harnessing of notions of community in environmental questions differs fundamentally, I argue, from blood and soil environmentalism, in that the nation and community is used instrumentally, rather than as an internal good. Similar to what Ulf Bjereld, Ann Marie Ekengren and Isabell Schierenbeck (2009) have described as a ‘deterritorialisation of the nation state’, it assumes a new identity within this globalised framework in line with the idea of Sweden as a set of values as described by Wittrock & Andersson.

⁸⁰ Cf. Discussion of ‘Ortsbefolkning för Vindelälven’ pp 72-75

MILJÖMODERATERNA PRESS

NYHETER RAPPORTER KONTAKT OM OSS VÅRT NYHETS BREV

SVERIGE SKA VARA ETT FÖREGÅNGSLAND I MILJÖ- OCH KLIMATARBETET



Under det senaste året har Nya Moderaternas arbetsgrupp för klimat och hållbarhet arbetat för att vässa miljö- och klimatpolitiken. Nu har ett antal förslag till åtgärder för en hållbar framtid presenterats.

1. Fortsätt vara drivande i internationella sammanhang

Sverige har varit ett av de länder som drivit på mest vad gäller att åstadkomma utsläppsminskningar. Vi ska fortsätta att utnyttja vår starka ställning internationellt och fortsatt lyfta miljöutmaningarna på den globala agendan.

Aktuellt om ämnet

Låt vildsvin bli nyttig skolmat

Johan Hultberg: ny talesperson i miljö frågor

Johan Hultberg tar (m)iljöfajten

Attraktiv stads kärna ger mindre påverkan på klimatet

Relaterade politiska områden

Miljö och klimat

Klimat

Sverige ska vara ett föregångsland i miljö- och klimatarbetet

Åsa Coenraads
Riksdagsledamot, Västmanlands län
[Visa profil sida](#)



Fig. 8.6 The Moderate's official web page asserting that Sweden should be a global leader in environment and climate. The headline also reads 'the Environmental Moderates (Moderaterna 2014)

Den socialdemokratiska partistyrelsen antog den 14 mars följande uttalande inför folkomröstningen:

Folkomröstningen den 23 mars kommer att få en avgörande betydelse för vårt land under flera årtionden. Det är därför viktigt att du utnyttjar din rösträtt och tar ställning. Om du avstår från att rösta eller röstar blankt överläter du åt andra att bestämma din framtid.

Socialdemokratiska partistyrelsen och LO:s Landssekreterariat har gemensamt utformat ett energipolitiskt förslag. Det är det som är Linje 2 i folkomröstningen.

Linje 2 innebär att vi ska använda de kärnkraftsaggregat som vi har byggt färdiga eller nästan färdiga. Men de ska bara användas så länge de är tekniskt driftsäkra. Inga nya aggregat ska byggas. Det innebär att kärnkraften avvecklas under ca 25 år.

Men riskerna då? Visst finns det risker med kärnkraften, men det finns det också med olja och kol. Alla tre linjerna och alla politiska partier har sagt att vi kan använda kärnkraften åtminstone under hela 1980-talet. Ingen har alltså gjort den bedömningen att kärnkraften av säkerhetsskäl är så farlig att den omedelbart måste stängas av. Linje 2 vill ändå genomföra en lång rad åtgärder för att ytterligare förstärka säkerheten.

Sveriges ekonomiska situation är dystur. En snabbavveckling under tio år skulle innebära en allvarlig kapitalförstörelse som hotar jobben och driver på omflyttningar och rationaliseringar. Genom att använda kärnkraften under en övergångstid kan vi minska vårt beroende av olja. Vi vet att oljetillförseln är osäker. Oljan är dessutom dyr, och vi vet att den är miljö- och hälsofarlig.

Linje 2 ger oss tid och råd att skärpa hushållningen och satsa på forskning, utveckling och produktion av förnyelsebara energikällor. En snabbavveckling leder till svåra konsekvenser för miljön och människors hälsa.

Linje 2 innebär en avveckling med förnuft, så att jobben, lönen och miljön tryggas. Linje 2 ger oss möjlighet att i praktisk handling visa solidaritet med eftersatta grupper i vårt land och med folken i de fattiga länderna.

**SOCIALDEMOKRATISKA
PARTISTYRELSEN
REKOMMENDERAR
MEDLEMMAR OCH
SYMPATISÖRER ATT
I FOLKOMRÖSTNINGEN
DEN 23 MARS STÖDJA LINJE 2!**



SOCIALDEMOKRATERNA

Fig. 8.7 An official appeal to Social Democrat members and voters. It stresses the opinion of the party using official symbols and requests loyalty and compliance. (*Aftonbladet* 22-03-1980:35)

8.4 Choosing common, contested futures

Implicit in the idea of alternative and possible futures is the notion of choice. Paradoxically (or not, bearing in mind MacIntyre's rejection of paradox) , this means that the freedom to choose [*valfrihet*] embodied by pro-road arguments can co-exist with the fatalistic approach to development inherent in arguments of necessity, combined with the needs to guarantee security of lifestyle, mobility and everyday environment. Similarly, the alternative visions outlined by anti-nuclear campaigners could co-opt some of the certainties of the Social-Democratic welfare project and, in the case of the Vindel, the desire of the government to economically develop northern Sweden whilst simultaneously not developing it.

Choice and radical change thus become relative concepts but can remain consistent values. Sweden has shown sign of resembling the kind of enviro-polity those who favour Eckersley's Green State⁸¹ might envisage, yet it remains far from becoming one. Its environmental regulations have been, even in the supposed golden age of environmentalism outlined by Jamison , based heavily on support for and use of existing economic model. Sweden instead contextualizes environment as another component in the maintenance of a stable society (OECD 1997: 135) where 'Environmental policy implementation involves consideration and adjustment with regard to other policy fields.' Choice is thus limited by the confines of security, but ability to choose becomes a tool in meeting future challenges.

A constant within this process is the notion of informed choice in planning, particularly evident in the race to produce facts in the nuclear referendum. It should, however, be noted that the knowledge generated is not necessarily scientific. As Nina Christenson, Schu-Nu Chang Rundgren and Hans Olof Höglund (2011) for example note, people asked to express views on the nuclear issue are overwhelmingly more likely to motivate their arguments through values arguments instead of scientific knowledge. Similarly, it has been argued that opposition to final storage is based on 'fairness' over calculated risk (Sjöberg & Drottz-Sjöberg 2001).

At the same time, respondents would nonetheless claim to be making an informed choice. This is particularly evident in the information arms race of the nuclear

⁸¹ Cf. pp 10-11

referendum, but also plays a key role in the Vindel conflict and, to a lesser degree, in the creation of pro-road environmental arguments (*cf.* Carlgren 2009).

Conversely, as environmental groups have sought to legitimise themselves through the co-option of scientific rhetoric, they have inadvertently embraced some aspects of the technologism they originally opposed outright, moving from a critical to a participatory standpoint (Anshelm & Galis 2011). In all three cases there appear attempts to construct sets of counter knowledges through persuasive counter narratives, whether it be the economism of the Vindel debate, the techno-scientific (but still value laden) nuclear issue or the new urbanism (as opposed to neo-liberal urbanism) of the Förbifart Stockholm debate.

The implications of the way these characteristics have manifested themselves and been propagated within the period studied are discussed below.

8.5 Mapping narratives and understanding change

In line with the primary aim of this study to identify and discuss a Swedish or Nordic way with regard to the environment, it has been necessary to illustrate and map the existence of processes of instrumental discourse and narrative construction as a counterpoint to the idea of an environmentalism informed by the existence or absence of static ethical approaches. In presenting an overview of modern Swedish environmentalism it has sought to establish whether environmentalism and environmental efficacy in the Swedish public space are linked. Although it is possible to identify rhetorical practice within the media towards the goods of environmentalism, as has been shown this does often not involve those goods being used as an argument in themselves.

This approach has also entailed analysis of the extent to which narratives of power and situation could account for the formation of a more normative understanding to a social environmental ethics, as well as why rhetorical approaches to the subject matter itself could ultimately prove more useful than discourse analysis alone by addressing the function and context of arguments, viewpoints and voices. It is in this respect that the narrative ethics of MacIntyre and the achievement of norms within an inherently diverse and incommensurable field of argument, as outlined in chapters two and three, are of particular help.

The concept of narrative traditions outlined in chapter two is borne out in the case studies of chapters five, six and seven. They illustrate the way in which the changing face of Swedish late modernity has had an influence on the manner in which it seeks to accommodate and solve environmental conflicts. This has also shown how the instrumental aspects of debates can be illuminated without separating them completely from the context of their production, instead documenting how they both consciously and subconsciously relate to existing practice even in the case of deviating political projects. This has implications for the way in which the agency achieved by individual texts is approached, and it is not possible to judge the success of any of the voices discussed in anything but the broadest terms. None of the texts studied in the analyses in the previous chapters or the larger textual corpus are seminal, but they gain force through their presentation with others, some in which the environment is a primary topic and some concerning entirely unrelated political and social issues.

It has also been an explicit intention to look at narratives in terms of democratic process and not, as others such as Andrew Jamison have done, discuss nature cultures, political or environmental ideology itself, or even political history as anything other than a contextualising reference point to what is presented here. In the context of democracy, public space and a discursive sphere, character and ethos are, I argue, of great importance. It is in the location of norms and normative standards of conflict over the juxtaposition of conflicting ideological perspectives comes to the fore, creating a pluralistic ethical landscape which is nonetheless bound by certain standards and traditions of practice. It is for this reason that I argue that the environmental conflicts discussed in this study can be best explained using and are prime examples of the deployment of *doxa*.

8.6 Doxologies of modernity

This pragmatic and practice-based approach to conflict is, I argue, a doxological process which requires politicians and civic actors to co-opt and rearticulate the ends of others as their own means, in opposition to epistemological approaches to environmental knowledge. This involves an approach to instrumental values which exist in relation to ideas about both the past and the future but which do not necessarily correspond to a rational interpretation of events, instead relying on the concept of prudence and the appropriation of traditions.

As has already been done in relation to each case study, it is possible to trace and speculate upon doxological constants across time and the political spectrum. Looking both to MacIntyre's quest for characteristics based in practice over ideology and to the doxological concept of prerestricted knowledge production suggested by Kuypers and Rosengren and the concept of prudence (Kypers 1995) (Rosengren 2011) (Amossy 2002:469), the establishment of doxa in a broadly democratic context allows the identification of constants whilst not arguing that they are inflexible.

This assessment corresponds to James Herrick's (2001: 62) assertion that 'rhetoric creates truth that is useful for the moment out of *doxa*.' Rosengren meanwhile asserts that rational *episteme* 'is nothing more than an illusion, created within a doxa that did not want to make do with the nature of doxological change. *Episteme* has therefore never been and can never be more original, genuine or real than the doxa from which it has arisen.'" (2011: 98)⁸² This also bears a resemblance to what Mervyn Conroy (2010:49) has called Alasdair MacIntyre's 'temporary moralities' – constructed narrative identities and motivations designed to execute a specific task. Rather than seeking to create and dissipate an epistemologically coherent environmental ethic, it assumes an instrumental understanding of the limited nature of the precepts available. This is further developed by Ruth Amossy in her conclusion that 'For the new rhetoric and discourse analysis, doxa as a cultural construct is, on the contrary [to the reassertion of existing power structures], the very condition of intersubjectivity and thus the source of discursive efficacy. In order to enable a fruitful exchange and convincingly present their case, the writer and the orator have to draw on accepted views.'(2002:469). This means that although argumentation and media reporting can make reference to both the past and the future, they do so in a manner which depends specifically on ideas about both at a specific moment.

In common with the general critique of the assumed values of modernity put forward by MacIntyre, this gives an insight into the ways in which the values of Swedish modernity outlined by Wiklund and Pred among others can be used in differing ways to instrumental ends. This includes contesting the very concept of what it means to be

⁸² This reflexivity of knowledge can also be compared to the temporary narratives situated in the present outlined by Giddens and MacIntyre.

modern and how this sense of modernness changes over time as part of the Swedish *framstegsberättelse*. There is thus an inherent reflexivity to conflicts about the future direction of a specific place, region or society.

As speculated on by Wiklund in reference to the concept of reflexive modernities (421-424), Sweden (and Europe) occupies, I argue, a liminal phase beyond the hypermodernity designated by Pred in the 1990s. This is not though the ecological or social postmodernity put forward by theorists such as Michael Moon in terms of the environment. Instead, I posit, the Sweden of the present day and its values can only be understood relative to the recent past and the processes of change in shifts from one articulation of the modern to the next.

It is for this reason that in depth consideration of the construction and function of texts has been critical to understanding both the instrumental and more generally discursive aspects of the debates studied, re-asserting the importance of both the self and of individual agents within larger discursive structures. Such an approach can combine a study of the doxa which determines the agency of both individuals and corporate voices in the context of wider textual, and by extension social, identities. In answer to the initial problematique at the beginning of this thesis about the nature of a 'Swedish way', such manifestations of character that constitute the public field of discussion and power can then be said to form a normative environmental ethics, but an ethics formed by strategic manipulation and dynamic change rather than a rationally communicated societal philosophy. Furthermore, this takes place in temporally specific circumstances.

As I shall discuss in terms of the evolution of environmentalism itself as an internal good, however, it is possible that such instrumental work creates practice which then itself becomes normative. The cumulative textual ethe established from all three case studies thus exhibit some characteristics which are traditional 'virtues' whilst others assume the role of social goods in the context of the debate. At each stage the particular characteristics of the traditions as they then exist are appropriated and reproduced according to Hannan's description of parallel concepts or the production of new idioms and standards.⁸³ This has further implications for the way in which environment as a concept should be viewed in contemporary Sweden, as I now discuss.

⁸³ Cf pp 41, 27, alternatively Hannan 2014:10

8.7 What now for the environment – from instrumental argument to practiced ethic?

Looking at the case studies of this project, it becomes evident that environmentalism as a topic of discussion changes over time from the 1970s to the present day, moving from an outside interest to becoming a general public good. By the end of the period of study there is an awareness of environmental concerns and attempts by various actors to develop integrated environmental narratives. Whereas environment as a concept is less dominant in the earlier two debates – and most definitely the property of one side of the argument – the transformation of ‘environmentalism’ into a means of identification itself has complex implications for the future of the environmental movement. As outlined in discussions of Förbifart Stockholm, proponents of the road were as likely to stress the environmental credentials of the projects as its opponents were its drawbacks, particularly with regard to the preservation of the integrity of central Stockholm as a picture book landscape. Similarly, as Nordhaus (1997:39) notes, the introduction of new discourses of climate change in the nuclear question have created further contested interpretations of environmentalism, not least the decision of the Centre party to endorse nuclear energy. This creates new ironies in the relationship between past intention and contemporary experience, as discussed by Myerson and Rydin (163). Similarly, the current list of environmental goals produced and approved by the Swedish parliament does not explicitly include nuclear decommissioning despite commitments having been made to that end. (Naturvårdsverket 2012). Although possible to discern differences between the holistic and contiguous versus finite conceptions of the environment across the debate, on a normative level environmentalism remains constant, and ‘being environmental’ is, I argue, a good in itself in contemporary Swedish society.

Key to this normalisation is the greening not just of the Social Democratic left, as previously discussed, but also the integration of environmental identities to Moderate politics. Fig. 8.8 shows an election poster featuring the Stockholm Moderate politician Sofia Arkelsten, at the time of the 2010 election spokesperson on the environment. The text of the poster reads ‘The New Moderates: The environmental party of our time.’ It typifies how environmentalism has become an instrumental value to be appropriated by politicians and integrated into their wider visions for electoral gain, particularly from a group who have historically not seen to be supporters of the environmental agenda.

This can be contrasted with the reverse-narratives of the Swedish Green Party and their attempts to move beyond environment as a singular defining characteristic within the general frame of the modern discussed in the previous chapter. This also mirrors Jonas Anshelm's analysis of Sweden's national environmental modernity as a moral constant in contemporary political discourse in his assertion that 'representatives of the environmental movement began to argue that Sweden had favourable conditions and a moral responsibility to assume a leading role in global transition.' (Anshelm 2012:38). Furthermore, it is possible to view the changed cultural capital of environmentalism as concept as part of what Carl Bråkenhielm (2010) pictures as a new civil religion and a certain moral doxology in a post-religious Swedish society. Similarly, as Martin Bennulf (1994:271) concludes, in a situation where the politics of environment are seen more and more within a left-right model green parties risk losing their distinctiveness and may struggle to make themselves relevant. Environmentally concerned citizens can vote for a party of their political leaning rather than prioritising green issues, as illustrated for example by neoliberal claims in the 1990s that 'Moderate environmental thinking means that a market economy and political pluralism is a precondition for increased environmental care and that ownership entails personal responsibility to the benefit of the environment.' (Bosson 1995:5). This makes Sweden a prime example of the phenomenon outlined by Andrew Dobson and described in chapter two, namely the concept of 'minimalist' environmentalism. This shows how the widespread proliferation of 'green thinking' becomes instrumental but does not guarantee the existence of a 'maximalist' model of embedded environmental awareness and ecologism, or an internal as opposed to external environmentalism.

Where this leaves the environment as a discursive concept, or environmentalism as a specific set of values, is unclear. It would not be true to assert that 'non-green' green voices simply greenwash their arguments, but rather a question of this how this plays out in practice. As is similarly illustrated in the previous discussion of democracy, environment in Sweden has become normalised enough to become a necessary part of political projects (and in practiced terms a societal ethic), but one open to manipulation, rearticulation and integration within and by other political and social movements.



Fig.8.8 Election poster featuring the slogan 'The environmental party of our times' and Moderate Stockholm politician Sofia Arkelsten (Moderaterna 2010)

Despite the apparent futility of a desire for enlightened environmental ethics in a pluralistic, post-structuralist (or in Macintyre's case post-rational) world, achieving the practices of such an ethic is not, I posit, an impossible task. It does though entail moving away from concepts of environmental consciousness and embracing the full diversity of democracy and the agency of individuals within that democratic context. Processes of identification, framing and legitimisation are key to the democratic arena, so that any nominally environmental agenda wishing to wield power can and should be ready to engage with those processes.

One of the basic assumptions of this study has been that Sweden is a nominally 'green' country, but this 'greenness' cannot be talked about separately from a range of other issues. If 'green' is a virtue to be valued and built upon by politicians then so are other rhetorical preoccupations such as economy, responsibility, security and readiness for the future. In the political maneuvering around Förbifart Stockholm for example, environment is rarely a primary frame, yet it exists in the periphery as an almost universal concern. Its omnipresence and simultaneous relegation, rather than being paradoxical, illustrate the normalisation of an environmental agenda. This results in environmentalism, at least in terms of electoral politics, taking on the same nebulous quality as concepts such as democracy, equality, economy and freedom.

This can be contrasted with the earlier stage of the Vindelälven debate, pre-dating the alternative environment movement and ecological modernisation, in which the environmental lobby formed a distinct but somewhat peripheral voice in the shadow of more regionalist identities. In the nuclear question, in which environmental voices were most visible in the campaign to abolish nuclear energy, environmentalism as a set of values and the environmentalist as character still played a minimal role in the electoral process. This is particularly noteworthy given just how important the nuclear question has subsequently become to the environmental movement itself and its use as a means of identity formation for those opposing it on the basis of values (Rundgren, Christenson & Höglund 2011) (Jahn 1992) Bearing this in mind, I now briefly address how the findings of the project's textual corpus can be used to speculate on the reconstruction of narratives along doxological lines outside of contemporary Sweden with reference to Scotland as an example of a comparative modernity.

8.8 Reversing the polarity: Building modernities in new contexts

One of the significant benefits of carrying out a study using a method such as Text Oriented Discourse Analysis is that it provides a toolkit for the reconstruction as well as deconstruction of arguments. Through provision of a deeper understanding of narrative construction than the repetition of themes or topics, TODA has the potential to inform the production of new argumentative strands within existing traditions as well as documenting extant ones.

The focus on the instrumental aspects of the debates and the agency inherent within narrative formation also serves, it is intended, to situate the Swedish experience as a dynamic process of power and knowledge production. Such an instrumental approach also re-asserts the power of individual voices over the historical determinism of economic narratives or the desire to uncover static and unchanging ethical standpoints. Moreover, through the rehabilitation of people as agents in their own narratives, some of the challenges created by structural approaches to environmental problems can be tackled, at the same time showing that individual voices that exclude themselves from the public space in which discursive power operates will fail to achieve any kind of legitimacy. What is evident is that moral agency in environmental questions need not involve the adoption of an environmental standpoint in passing judgement, nor in persuading others of the legitimacy of specific developmental decisions.

TODA thus provides a toolkit for the reconstruction of such narratives and facilitates the achievement of Theo van Dijk's desire outlined in chapter two that 'scholars of discourse do not merely observe such linkages between discourse and social structures but aim to be agents of change'. It is with this in mind that questions of transfer, internationalisation and the potential for convergent ecomodernities achieve currency, and I here I speculate briefly on the transfer of 'The Nordic Way' to comparative and parallel contexts in the case of Scotland.

At the present time, although by no means alone in doing so, there is an enormous interest in Scotland in its eastern neighbours, as evidenced academically by Keating & Harvey (2014) and Newby (2009), but also in the popular press (Milne 2014) among others, with the idea of the Nordic countries apparent exceptionalism but also a perceived commonality underpinning many progressive projects.

A significant part of this has been the introduction to popular political discourse of Scandinavian approaches to the environment, with the Scottish environment minister expressing an aspiration of environmental commonality with Sweden as well as Norway and Denmark (Lochhead 2013) – The Nordic Way trumpeted by the Nordic Council and the individual governments of the Nordic countries. One of the key questions informing this study is the possibility and potential of reproducing ‘The Nordic Way’ in other contexts, not least in Scotland. Doing so however would necessarily involve rebuilding Scandinavian environmental discourses in narrative, rather than just policy terms, if the attainment of such an environmental ethic is indeed deemed desirable in anything other than a politically instrumental manner.

Such a project to ‘nordicise’ non-Nordic political spaces would thus need to maintain an awareness of the differing narrative contexts of the two countries and an understanding of the existing fields of political identities and public debate on the matter. In the case of Scotland for example, since the high point of the Scottish Climate Change Act of 2009, questions of environment have seemingly slipped down the political agenda through a process of normalisation of the environmental question, including the adoption by government ministers of flagship ‘green policies’ such as electric cars and low-emission buses alongside a focus on renewable energy. Despite this, large roadbuilding projects and the continuation of unsustainable land management models show a clear lack of efficacy on the part of environmental campaigners, whilst the current potential for environmental politics in Scotland in a Nordic direction appears limited.

External to the environment there remain, however, similarities. The uncertainties of the future mean that visions for progress and development are ripe for articulation. So too are questions of democracy, representation and rights. Recent attempts to stress the ‘Nordicness’ of childcare provision for example in Scotland have sought to use moral properties of Norway, asserting a similar national ethic (SNP 2014). It is also worth noting that Scotland often discusses itself as a green nation, if not a green state in its instrumental use of landscape as a national identity marker (Durie, Yeoman, McMahon, Beattie 2005). Any use of ‘Nordic’ ways of thinking will, on a superficial level, likely depend on the use of Nordic (or Swedish/Danish/Norwegian-ness) as an internal good itself, rather than a critical reflection of the reality of the Scandinavian experience.

This need not though mean that such attempts lack an efficacy of their own, especially if it indirectly aids discussions of subjects such as transport, land reform and, on a non-environmental level, gender equality and democracy in the development of new Scottish parallel modernities and the annexation of perceived traditions in new narratives of national modernity. This is to say nothing of the reality of the rhetoric, but just as the post-conservation environmental movement has attempted to articulate a social narrative, there is potential for a new type of social and environmental modernity elsewhere in the space provided by constitutional and political upheaval and the narrative (re)discovery of Scotland as a Northern country.

In a variety of cultural and economic contexts it would be prudent, I posit, for would-be environmentalists to challenge some of the orthodoxies of their own moral framework and critically assess the context in which they find themselves as they try to construct new green modernities. This is a space in which outcomes 'are constructed around problems with different coalitions of public and private actors. Those networks are governed by local narratives and rules instead of universal meta-languages and rules. We have to acknowledge that 'any consensus on the rules defining a game and the "moves" playable within it must be local, in other words agreed on by its present players and subject to eventual cancellation.' (Lyotard cited by Leroy, Tatenove 2000: 192). This game will consist of its own characters and characteristics, with its own preconditions and idiosyncrasies.

To speculate just briefly on such a rearticulation in the light of the terminology of TODA, it might entail the transformation of the interactional process so that people, and not developers, are able to lead or at least co-lead conversations about the developmental futures of their own localities. At present developers are often able to build narratives around themselves as active drivers, obscuring their role as beneficiaries, whilst alternative visions of development are often discounted without giving voice to those affected. Such re-narrativising would re-establish environmentalists as positive agents of change and developers and polluters as barriers to the process, promoting an inclusivity on the part of 'environmental interests' and seeking to manipulate the language of contemporary development and planning so as to change the meaning of certain concepts for the worse or better. This will necessarily require an understanding of Arias-Maldonado's pluralistic approach to sustainabilities, but also of the more

general conditions in which environmentalists find themselves. As Uggla (2002: 38) notes, in Sweden too 'because of its vagueness, the notion of sustainable development successfully avoids threatening or violating the core principle of the institutions in modern society, all the way from political institutions to private industry'. Although this may sound somewhat fatalistic, it reveals the annexation of one tradition by another, the next step being the need to transform and supersede notions of 'sustainable development' and growth in particular. Current metaphors of organic city growth and adaption are thus, I argue, ripe for rearticulation in terms of the maintenance of community and the provision of alternative visions of future progress. Lastly, it will require a concerted and conscious effort to move environmentalism from a peripheral value in the public space to a normative central ethos which is compatible with wider collective narrative, but this by turns might become embedded and generate new traditions of environmentalism radically different from what we experience today through non-ideological practice.

As outlined, Swedish eco-modernity would necessarily look and feel different to other forms of eco-modernity with its own standards and norms, but change can be engineered locally. As Eckersley (2004:3) notes, rather than transcending the nation state and abandoning its extant communities, green states would seek to transform 'rather than to reject or circumvent them.' This embracing of the modern (rather than postmodern) concept of the nation thus opens the preconditions for more parallel and complementary green states.

This necessarily entails an understanding of the narrative preconditions in individual states, and even communities of discourse within states, towards developing complementary but pluralistic narratives of ecomodernity. If the achievement of a truly sustainable society and a corresponding set of moral values and practices is the aim, in terms of the efficacy of action it is preferable 'instead of looking for an eternal, universal and absolutely valid principle, we should instead depart from a particular standpoint and successively strive towards a more developed and generally applicable standpoint' (Wiklund 2005: 395). In many cases this means that the general concepts and virtues required to engineer new discourses and practices of sustainability already exist. The validity of concepts such as freedom, security, social solidarity and even nationalism

provide a basis for such evolution, but in varying forms from community to community and country to country.

Environmental modernities are just one strand of the debates studied here, and it would be just as possible to apply the same methodology to other areas to give insights into the normative practice of gender, democracy, immigration, military and foreign policy or less environmentally focused urbanism that Sweden and the other Nordic countries are often lauded for.

Similarly, the methodology could also be extended to comparative research across languages and polities, including the divergent discourses of the Scandinavian countries themselves and the quickly changing political and social climate of the British Isles. This is particularly the case where researchers in the fields of social policy, geosciences and planning wish to locate their work in cultural contexts without adopting static social models but still recognising the role played by identity and values in the articulation of power. For gender studies especially this would appear a valuable tool, taking into account the link between instrumental argumentation to achieve specific outcomes and the existence of ideologies in a more nebulous and less tangible sense. At the same time, however, there are limitations to a perspective which attempts to construct political realities in purely narrative terms, and crucially the potential of narrative approaches is constrained by the material as much as the narrative conditions in which instrumental discourse is introduced.

8.9 New authors of eco-modernity?

This project has dealt specifically with journalistic material, and in the same manner that the emphasis of individual voices in each of the debates studies has sought to recover the author as politician or activist as agent, it is also worth remarking on the role of the journalist as agent and the particular potential possessed by the journalist to contribute to the writing of a hypothetical eco-modernity. This is particular so given Mark Deutze's (2007:673) assertion, that journalism is the primary sense making practice of late modernity.

At a time when both the physical and media landscapes are in a state of flux, there are few certainties within the future of either the media or the environment. Changing forms, patterns of consumption, interactional processes and financial models all

contribute to creating a different context for the production of environment in the media than under the traditional print models at the heart of this study.

Where the journalist sits within this malleable space is less clear compared to the relatively unchanged position of political or environmental activists on the one hand and their opponents on the other in that the latter only seek to use media. The journalist (as author), however, finds themselves situated within media. A contemporary journalism of environmentalism might then try to make use of this relatively privileged position, combined with a self-awareness of the limitations of the environmentalist standpoint previously outlined to achieve what Anthony Giddens has described as ‘the colonising of the future’(1991:117) Ultimately the space which exists between the desire to achieve sustainability and the notion of environment as understood by lay publics will have to come to terms with this ghost in the machine. This presents both a promising and challenging area of future research in the environmental humanities.

8.10 Concluding remarks

This study has sought to address three basic questions. The first of these has been the location and identification of a particular Swedish environmental ethic through a process of media mapping. What is most apparent from the textual corpus of this study and the associated discussions of its context is that environmentalism in Sweden is a deeply normative concept. People ‘doing’ environmentalism might not identify as environmentalists, whilst people who claim to have the interests of the environment at heart might find themselves in opposition to other voices sincerely claiming to be doing the very same. Different articulations of the same values and textual characteristics help to tell wildly different stories about environments local and global, past, present and future, often instrumentally in order to achieve internal goods held by a particular social group of actor to be desirable. As discussed, this makes it possible to identify both a very strong and situated set of environmental values, but what these values are and how they relate to real outcomes is dependent on the ability of individual agents to utilise them. Furthermore, the perceived greenness of contemporary Sweden embodies a rhetoric of exceptionalism whilst also reducing the radicalism of environmental movements. This integration of general values with environmentalism thus means that it is difficult to argue for a specific environmental ethic, but the reflexivity of

environmentalism in contemporary life provides a glimpse of the eco-modernistic 'green state' polity outlined by Robyn Eckerlsey.

A second key interest has been the role and strategies of particular agents within the ethics of the community. It is important to stress that, though the three case studies analysed in chapters five, six and seven can be and have been characterised as turning points in the chronology of Swedish environmentalism for various reasons, they should be seen not as instrumental in themselves but as collections of small instrumental acts. All of them are part of a meta-narrative of modernity rather than the simple historical progression of an isolated environmental movement, and as such constitute only a small sample of the broad and complex, competing and complementary traditions or practice and ideology in contemporary Sweden. The complexities of this field, and the anti-rational narrative perspective which this study has used, thus place a greater emphasis on prudence and practice in the navigation of the chaotic landscape of environmental politics. Each of the individual texts closely analysed here are examples of temporally located and highly instrumental attempts to negotiate, but also to change, these traditions. Their moral dimensions are often secondary to a specifically identified need, even when they may adopt strongly moral properties in arguing for certain outcomes. Processes of ecological modernisation have created a situation in which the apparent paradoxes of industrial development and sustainability have been rhetorically solved, but this communicative commensurability has in itself resulted in the production of genuine practices of sustainability.

The third and final question which has informed this study is what the implications of its initial findings might be for the replication of Swedish environmental models in other contexts, as briefly explored through the concept of parallel modernities. In answer to this it is possible to say that whilst Sweden might not possess the 'uniqueness of being' noted by Jenny Andersson, it does possess a unique context. This would be, I argue, the case for any other polity or community seeking to develop and choose future action with reference to both the present and the perceived past. At the same time, the pursual of sound environmental practice in different spaces could ultimately result in a convergent eco-modernity in which the actual goods to be achieved are identical despite their motivations or argumentation differing.

On a primary level this study thus provides a discursive account of three interesting and major chapters in the history of modern Swedish environmentalism, constructing a body of analytical work on important questions of environmental history. In doing this it offers what is intended to be a robust method of analysing instrumental discourse from the perspective of instrumental values, loose enough to be transferable but strict enough to stand up to scrutiny. Although based on the work of Alasdair MacIntyre and Norman Fairclough, it is hoped that they are brought together in a way that avoids what Scheuffle has called 'the meaninglessness' of framing typology and contributes to a more general body of research on the Nordic environment in a global context.

Ultimately, this study posits that Swedish environmentalism is not a 'national movement' or a homogenous ethic but an overlapping and interrelated series of changeable values which can be used to achieve a variety of ends within parallel and competing narrative traditions of modernity. The doxological field is such that these values both inform and are manipulated by the debates in question and environmentalism as a singular concept has become so embedded in national narratives that it has assumed its own instrumental value external to the achievement of environmental goods. In focusing on a practice-based rhetoric, it illuminates the non-rational nature of argument and conflict whilst still granting agency to those seeking to change discourses and work according to the values held by environmentalists themselves. The replication of any Swedish way or Nordic way thus requires a deeper awareness not just of the precepts to how debates unfold in Sweden, but a wider awareness of the figurative and narrative basis of the new context into which such attitudes are to be transferred. It is in such a way that rhetorically engineered gains for environmentalists might become established practice amongst the public. Such an awareness of narrative values and the creation of moral agency to inform both individual and collective decisions can potentially radically change the debate at a critical time without becoming economically reductive or overly generalised. More than anything else, this study gives new weight to MacIntyre's maxim on the way we create and inform choices about the future; before we can ask what we are to do, we have to ask ourselves of what stories do we find ourselves part.

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Appendix I

The following articles, discussed in chapter four, are reproduced from *Svenska Dagbladet* for reference. They both appeared in the 'Brännpunkt' debate section of the newspaper in the spring of 2011.

Förbifart Stockholm blir en valfråga 2014

Motorvägsprojektet Förbifart Stockholm är kraftigt försenat, redan före första spadtaget. Överklaganden, en budget som spruckit och juridiska prövningar visar det tydligt – den dyraste motorvägen genom tiderna är inte bara en dålig idé, den är även juridiskt, miljömässigt och ekonomiskt svår att få till. Ingen vet när första spadtaget kommer tas, men det blir inte 2011, inte 2012 och det är fortfarande osäkert om det blir 2013 eller ens 2014. Med andra ord går det inte utesluta att Förbifart Stockholm blir en valfråga även 2014.

Riggert Andersson, Trafikverkets projektchef för motorvägen, sade nyligen till tidningen Byggindustrin att förseningarna kommer ”få effekter för hela projektets tidsplan och dess kostnader, men exakt var vi landar är för tidigt att säga” och ”vi är redan sinkade åtta månader. Nu kan det bli åtta månader till eller i värsta fall ännu mer. Hela jätteinvesteringen med Förbifart Stockholm hamnar i gungning”. Och då är vi fortfarande bara i början av en mycket komplicerad process.

Städer runt om i världen agerar utifrån det uppenbara – det fungerar inte att bygga motorvägar för att få bort trängsel. Fler motorvägar leder till att fler tar bilen, vilket leder till ännu mer köer. De dagliga köerna på Södra länken är ett tydligt exempel på detta. För varje ny motorväg som byggs skapas behovet av ytterligare en motorväg. Idén att massbilismens problem kan lösas med ytterligare en motorväg är i stort sett dödförklarad. Men här i Stockholm domineras debatten om Förbifarten fortfarande av naiva föreställningar och decennielång politisk prestige.

Därför välkomnar vi att prioriteringarna i stockholmstrafiken blir en valfråga 2014. Förbifart Stockholm kommer att kosta minst 30 miljarder, vilket motsvarar 30 års intäkter från trängselskatten. 30 miljarder och 30 år som rycks undan från helt nödvändiga investeringar i nya spårvägslinjer, pendeltåg, bussar och utbyggd tunnelbana.

I valet mellan kollektivtrafik och Förbifart Stockholm väljer en majoritet av stockholmarna kollektivtrafiken. Vilket är fullt logiskt med tanke på att fler reser kollektivt än med bilen i rusningstrafiken.

De partier och intresseorganisationer som vurmar massbilismen brukar hävda att stockholmarna visst vill ha Förbifarten. De har sedan 1950-talet, då idén om Förbifarten föddes (det vill säga på den tiden då motorvägar fortfarande ansågs moderna), plöjt ner hundratals miljoner i projektet. 150 konsulter samt informationskampanjer och opinionsundersökningar som år efter år påstått att ännu en motorväg är helt nödvändigt.

Aldrig har de lyft fram det faktum att 30 miljarder till en motorväg betyder 30 miljarder som tas bort från kollektivtrafiken. Att motorvägen kommer generera så mycket ny biltrafik att den är överlastad redan efter tio år. Att endast två procent av trafiken är den långväga genomfartstrafiken, det vill säga den trafik man säger att motorvägen behövs för. Att Förbifarten inte anpassas för kollektivt resande – den ger ingen plats för tåg och endast sju procent av resorna kommer utgöras av kollektivtrafik med buss. Att Förbifarten ökar Stockholms totala klimatutsläpp. När motorvägens förespråkare har köpt opinionsundersökningar har de helt enkelt missat att samtidigt informera stockholmarna om dessa fakta.

Alla vinner på en effektiv och utbyggd kollektivtrafik. Om det blir mer tids- och kostnadseffektivt att resa kollektivt, jämfört med att ta bilen, så kommer fler att välja det. Det innebär mindre trafik och trängsel på våra vägar, vilket gynnar de som måste ta bilen, och minskar Stockholms klimatutsläpp. Dessutom slipper Stockholm att framstå som bakåtsträvar när andra städer i Europa springer om oss.

Förbifarten är ett vägval. Om vi tar fel väg så det 30 år till nästa avfart. En majoritet av stockholmarna väljer redan kollektivtrafik istället för ännu en motorväg. Fram till 2014 kommer vi att försöka övertyga resten.

ÅSA ROMSON (MP)

riksdagsledamot

YVONNE BLOMBÄCK (MP)

gruppledare Stockholms läns landsting

EMILIA HAGBERG (MP)

gruppledare Stockholms stad

(*Svenska Dagbladet* 23-03-2011)

Det är dags att blicka bortom Förbifarten

De tre miljöpartisterna Romson, Blombäck och Hagberg (Brännpunkt 23/3) visar en brist på förståelse för Stockholms behov som tillväxtmotor genom att framhålla Förbifart Stockholms vara eller icke vara som en viktig valfråga 2014. Om de inte märkte det så var det en valfråga 2010. Det säger en del om miljöpartiets insikter kring vilka samhällsutmaningar som väljarna upplever och ser runt omkring sig. Vi moderater vill ha färre bilar som kör i Stockholms såväl inner- som ytterstad, men vi ser samtidigt att många behöver bilen för att få ihop sin vardag. En modern miljöbil är en naturlig och viktig del av en modern storstad – men vi arbetar hårt för att göra stockholmarnas vardag mindre beroende av den.

I Moderaternas vision för Stockholm och Stockholmsregionen spelar cykel, bil och kollektivtrafik på spår, vatten och vägar alla en viktig roll i den transportutmaning som en växande och livskraftig storstadsregion utgör. Ett växande Stockholm kräver modern infrastruktur. MP:s infrastrukturvision är inte bara enögd, utan verkar mest gå ut på att backa bandet snarare än att utveckla Stockholm för framtiden.

De tre hävdar även att byggandet av Förbifart Stockholm för 30 miljarder kronor är en mycket dyr infrastrukturinvestering. Och där kan vi inte annat än att hålla med. Men det är en investering som är ännu dyrare att inte genomföra, i form av uteblivna arbetstillfällen, bromsad tillväxt och till priset av en region som glider isär allt mer. Med Förbifart Stockholm kan regionen knytas samman från norr till söder. I dag är det omkring 130 000 människor som varje dag pendlar från norra till södra Stockholm. För dem är Förbifarten något som förbättrar och förenklar vardagen, som skapar tid för samvaro med familjen och barnen, som skapar andra möjligheter.

Vidare försöker MP hävda att den juridiska och demokratiska prövningen av ett stort infrastrukturprojekt såsom Förbifart Stockholm innebär att projektet i sig är en dålig idé. Av det kan vi bara uttyda en märklig demokratisyn, och även begränsade juridiska insikter.

I artikeln försöker skribenterna även förkasta idén om att vägar spelar en viktig roll för storstäder, i samverkan med spår, cykelleder, gångbanor, och de utropar slutet på bilens betydelse. Förbifarten är inte bara viktig för privatbilism och tyngre godstrafik utan också för kollektivtrafiken. Direktbussar och annan kollektivtrafik på Förbifarten kommer att hjälpa till att binda samman hela Storstockholmsregionen. Det är också viktigt att påpeka att ju färre bilar som är i omlopp i stadskärnan desto mer ökar framkomligheten för kollektivtrafiken, såväl i innerstad som ytterstad.

Förbifartens kanske viktigaste effekt för kollektivtrafiken kan bli att den kommer möjliggöra en anpassad användning av Essingeleden. Möjliga åtgärder är exempelvis utökade kollektivtrafikkörfält, men även snabbbussterminaler med snabbomstigning till annan kollektivtrafik på vatten, spår eller vägar.

Stockholmarna har gång på gång visat att de vill satsa på framtiden. Blocköverskridande är 74 procent för Förbifart Stockholm och endast 10 procent är emot (DN/Synovate augusti 2010). Även bland Miljöpartiets egna väljare finns ett starkt stöd för Förbifarten. I Stockholms Handelskammars undersökning (Skop för HK april 2010) var hela 69 procent av de tillfrågade som sympatiserade med Miljöpartiet för och endast 26 procent emot.

I stället för att fastna i det förgångna bjuder vi in Miljöpartiet för att blicka framåt och att med gemensamma krafter fortsätta att utveckla ett Stockholm som växer och där alla kan växa av egen kraft.

Frågan om Förbifart Stockholm var tydlig på agendan i valet 2010 i Stockholm. Stockholmarna tog klart och tydligt ställning för det politiska alternativ som stöttade Förbifarten. Nu är det dags att blicka framåt och arbeta tillsammans för en växande och bättre stad och region. Första spadtaget för Förbifart Stockholm närmar sig, vi välkomnar Miljöpartiet att bli en del av arbetet för en stockholmsregion som fortsätter växa, utvecklas och förbättras.

STEN NORDIN (M)

finansborgarråd

ULLA HAMILTON (M)

trafik- och företagborgarråd

(Svenska Dagbladet 24-03-2011)

Appendix II

This is a reproduction of the raw data retrieved during the project, as used in the word clouds and cumulative data discussion from each case study. It was assembled from the newspaper archives of the National Library of Sweden in the period August 2012-March 2013. It is unweighted and has not been manipulated in any way. Each text carries a unique number, used to refer to specific articles in the main body of the thesis.

The notes mark particularly noteworthy texts from the general corpus. In some cases the quality of the retrieved texts was not good enough to be able to analyse and apply frames. Where this is the case they have though been included without labels to indicate their location and existence.

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
23	SvD	1969-10-10	36	News article	New information, objectivity, realism	Vindelälven	
24	SvD	1969-10-11	4	Leader	Pragmatism, new information, anti-statism	Vindelälven	
13	DN	1969-10-11	7	News article	Absolutism, new information, conservation	Vindelälven	
25	SvD	1969-10-30	3	News article	Conservation, sustainable development, democracy	Vindelälven	
26	SvD	1969-10-31	4	Leader	Conservation, nationalism, community	Vindelälven	Reconstitution of landscape as document
1	Expressen	1969-11-21	2	Leader	Anti statism, resignation, informed	Vindelälven	
16	DN	1969-11-21	7	News article	Economy, conservation, sacrifice	Vindelälven	
15	DN	1969-11-21	2	Leader	Open mindedness, anti-statism, new information discourse	Vindelälven	
14	DN	1969	1	News	Economy,sacrifice	Vindelälven	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
		-11-21		article	, democracy		
17	DN	1969-11-28	15	News article	New information, open mindedness, energy security	Vindelälven	
2	Expressen	1969-12-05	3	Debate article	Democratic, forward looking, informed	Vindelälven	
18	DN	1969-12-16	2	Leader	Anti-statism, democracy, new information	Vindelälven	
19	DN	1969-12-18	2	Leader	Conservationism, forward looking, anti statism	Vindelälven	
27	SvD	1970-01-21	4	Leader	Economy, future vision, alternative vision	Vindelälven	
28	SvD	1970-01-22	30	News article	Generational narrative, democracy, open mindedness	Vindelälven	
3	Expressen	1970-01-29	2	Leader	New information, future vision, fiscal sense	Vindelälven	
20	DN	1970-01-30	6	News article	Democracy, conflict, forward looking	Vindelälven	
4	Expressen	1970-01-30	2	Leader	Anti statism, democracy, new information	Vindelälven	
21	DN	1970-01-31	2	Leader	New information, economy, mass movement	Vindelälven	
29	SvD	1970-02-02	24	Debate article	Energy security, alternative vision, new information	Vindelälven	
30	SvD	1970-02-04	11	News article	Economy, pragmatism, conflict	Vindelälven	
10	Aftonbladet	1970-02-05	19	News feature	Conflict, democracy, economy	Vindelälven	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
11	Aftonbladet	1970-02-05	19	News feature	Pastoralism, democracy, appropriate development	Vindelälven	
5	Expressen	1970-02-06	2	Leader		Vindelälven	
31	SvD	1970-02-07	40	News article	New information , objectivity, pragmatism	Vindelälven	
22	DN	1970-02-15	8	News feature	Community, aesthetics, anti-economics	Vindelälven	
32	SvD	1970-02-19	11	News article	New information, economy,	Vindelälven	
33	SvD	1970-02-21	14	News article	New information, future vision, anti-statism	Vindelälven	
34	SvD	1970-03-01	34	News article	Economy, alternative vision, health	Vindelälven	
35	SvD	1970-03-05	1	News article	Conflict, power, anti-statism	Vindelälven	
6	Expressen	1970-03-08	2	Leader	Energy security, economy, welfare	Vindelälven	
8	Expressen	1970-03-28	2	Debate article	Energy security, progress, new information	Vindelälven	
9	Expressen	1970-03-31	11	News article	Solution, innovation, practical alternativism	Vindelälven	
12	Aftonbladet	1970-03-31	6	News article	Inevitability, progress, distrust	Vindelälven	
37	SvD	1970-03-31	9	News article	Conservation, anti-statism, wilderness	Vindelälven	
36	SvD	1970	1	News	Determinism,	Vindelälven	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
		-03-31		article	inevitability, alternative vision		
50	Aftonbladet	1979-11-07	30	Debate article	Identity, politics, structure	Kärnkraft	
27 6	DN	1979-12-11	2	Leader	Gender, future vision	Kärnkraft	
38	Aftonbladet	1979-09-23	4	Debate article	Distrust, risk, anti-capitalism	Kärnkraft	
39	Aftonbladet	1979-09-23	38	News article	Information discourse, citizenship, choice	Kärnkraft	
46 8	SvD	1979-09-24	10	Culture	Existentialism, progress, familiarity	Kärnkraft	
19 1	DN	1979-09-25	4	Debate article	Alternative vision, risk, economy	Kärnkraft	
19 2	DN	1979-09-25	62	News article	Globalism, necessity, solidarity	Kärnkraft	
46 9	SvD	1979-09-26	4	News article	Responsibility, identity	Kärnkraft	
19 3	DN	1979-09-26	2	Debate article	Truth, distrust, anti-capitalism	Kärnkraft	
80 9	Expressen	1979-09-27	27	News article	Security, risk, anti-americanism	Kärnkraft	
47 0	SvD	1979-09-27	8	Culture	Insight	Kärnkraft	
19 4	DN	1979-09-27	2	Debate article	Information, distrust, necessity	Kärnkraft	
19 5	DN	1979-09-27	6	News article	Personality, democracy, environmentalism	Kärnkraft	
47	SvD	1979	4	News	Compromise,	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
1		-09-29		article	progress, consensus		
810	Expressen	1979-09-29	52	News article	Risk, information	Kärnkraft	
40	Aftonbladet	1979-09-30	20	News article	Risk, control, anti-Americanism	Kärnkraft	
472	SvD	1979-10-02	5	News article	Disunity, argument, democracy	Kärnkraft	
811	Expressen	1979-10-03	8	News article	Risk, information	Kärnkraft	
41	Aftonbladet	1979-10-03	9	News article	Risk, anti-Americanism, distrust	Kärnkraft	
196	DN	1979-10-04	2	Leader	Fatalism, distrust, alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
473	SvD	1979-10-05	1	News article	Truth, distrust, nation	Kärnkraft	
197	DN	1979-10-05	11	News article	Distrust, truth	Kärnkraft	
198	DN	1979-10-06	6	News article	Identity, politics, security	Kärnkraft	
474	SvD	1979-10-07	10	News article	Alternative vision, salvation	Kärnkraft	
475	SvD	1979-10-07	10	News article	Democracy, populism	Kärnkraft	
476	SvD	1979-10-07	10	News article	Democracy, economy	Kärnkraft	
478	SvD	1979-10-09	5	News article	Moralism, information	Kärnkraft	
19	DN	1979	7	News	Information,	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
9		-10-09		article	alternative vision		
481	SvD	1979-10-09	27	News feature	Democracy, temporality	Kärnkraft	
479	SvD	1979-10-09	5	News article	Economy, democracy, statism	Kärnkraft	
477	SvD	1979-10-09	5	News article	Alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
480	SvD	1979-10-09	5	News article	Removing risk, economy, future vision	Kärnkraft	
200	DN	1979-10-09	7	News article	Information, alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
202	DN	1979-10-11	36	News article	Economy, risk,	Kärnkraft	
485	SvD	1979-10-11	4	News article	Risk, fatalism	Kärnkraft	
484	SvD	1979-10-11	4	News article	Threat, environmentalism, information	Kärnkraft	Älvar!
482	SvD	1979-10-11	2	Leader	Optimism, alternative vision, fatalism	Kärnkraft	Good, clear leader
201	DN	1979-10-11	13	News article	Security, risk, economy	Kärnkraft	
483	SvD	1979-10-11	4	News article	Anti-capitalism, security	Kärnkraft	
203	DN	1979-10-12	1	News article	Future vision, democracy	Kärnkraft	
206	DN	1979-10-13	15	News feature	Risk, nation	Kärnkraft	
20	DN	1979	12	News	Distrust,	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
5		-10-13		article	democracy		
204	DN	1979-10-13	6	News article	Politics, identity, security	Kärnkraft	
208	DN	1979-10-14	52	News article		Kärnkraft	
486	SvD	1979-10-14	4	News article	New information, alternative vision, security	Kärnkraft	
207	DN	1979-10-14	6	News article	Compromise, fatalism	Kärnkraft	
209	DN	1979-10-15	10	News article	Democracy, populism	Kärnkraft	
210	DN	1979-10-15	30	News feature	Personality, identity, community	Kärnkraft	
487	SvD	1979-10-15	2	Leader	Information, rational, realism	Kärnkraft	
211	DN	1979-10-16	6	Debate article	Truth, information, alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
488	SvD	1979-10-17	24	News article		Kärnkraft	
212	DN	1979-10-17	12	Advert	Economy, security, necessity	Kärnkraft	
42	Aftonbladet	1979-10-18	2	Leader	Risk, caution, information	Kärnkraft	
489	SvD	1979-10-18	27	News article	Alternative vision, possibility	Kärnkraft	
213	DN	1979-10-18	6	News article	Politics, compromise, weakness	Kärnkraft	
49	SvD	1979	2	Leader	Politics,	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
0		-10-19			democracy, identity		
81 2	Expressen	1979 -10-19	14	News article	Personality, rationalism	Kärnkraft	
21 4	DN	1979 -10-19	5	News article	Future vision, security, welfare	Kärnkraft	
21 5	DN	1979 -10-19	34	News article	Democracy, populism	Kärnkraft	
21 6	DN	1979 -10-20	14	News article	Risk, economy, information	Kärnkraft	
81 3	Expressen	1979 -10-20	25	News feature	Struggle, survival, risk	Kärnkraft	
43	Aftonbladet	1979 -10-20	10	News article	Risk, distrust, truth	Kärnkraft	
21 7	DN	1979 -10-21	17	Debate article	Environmentalism, risk, security	Kärnkraft	
21 8	DN	1979 -10-24	1	News article	Risk, democracy, anti-capitalism	Kärnkraft	
44	Aftonbladet	1979 -10-24	2	Leader	Politics, identity,	Kärnkraft	
81 4	Expressen	1979 -10-24	7	News article	Politics, personality, democracy	Kärnkraft	
49 1	SvD	1979 -10-24	5	News article	Politics, challenge	Kärnkraft	
49 2	SvD	1979 -10-24	6	News article	Nation, anti-capitalism	Kärnkraft	
49 3	SvD	1979 -10-24	20	Debate article	Risk, distrust, environmentalism	Kärnkraft	
49	SvD	1979	25	News	Economy, threat,	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
4		-10-24		article	absolutism		
49 5	SvD	1979 -10-24	30	News article	Catastrophe, rights, democracy	Kärnkraft	
45	Aftonbladet	1979 -10-25	2	Leader	Conditionality, managed risk, information	Kärnkraft	
49 6	SvD	1979 -10-25	2	Leader	Environmentalism, economy, necessity	Kärnkraft	
49 7	SvD	1979 -10-26	2	Leader	Information, structure, challenge	Kärnkraft	
81 5	Expressen	1979 -10-26	22	Advert	Need, nation, expertise	Kärnkraft	
49 8	SvD	1979 -10-27	4	News article	security, distrust	Kärnkraft	
21 9	DN	1979 -10-27	2	Leader	Realism, democracy, truth	Kärnkraft	
22 0	DN	1979 -10-27	6	News article	Future vision, security	Kärnkraft	
46	Aftonbladet	1979 -10-28	2	Leader	Economy, anti-capitalism, nation	Kärnkraft	
49 9	SvD	1979 -10-28	4	News article	Alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
81 6	Expressen	1979 -10-28	32	News feature	Personality, globalism, choice	Kärnkraft	
22 1	DN	1979 -10-28	1	News article	Competition, identity	Kärnkraft	
22 2	DN	1979 -10-28	6	News article	Competition, absolutism	Kärnkraft	
50	SvD	1979	6	News	decline, risk	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
0		-10-29		article			
817	Expressen	1979-10-30	15	News article	Risk, information, anti-americanism	Kärnkraft	
224	DN	1979-10-30	4	Debate article	Security, environmentalism, politics	Kärnkraft	
501	SvD	1979-10-30	2	Leader	Fatalism, risk,	Kärnkraft	
225	DN	1979-10-30	34	News feature	Security, information, personality	Kärnkraft	
223	DN	1979-10-30	2	Leader	Nation, risk	Kärnkraft	
227	DN	1979-10-31	64	News feature	Gender, responsibility, alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
505	SvD	1979-10-31	2	Leader	Compromise, information, identity	Kärnkraft	
503	SvD	1979-10-31	7	News article	Distrust, humanity, truth	Kärnkraft	
502	SvD	1979-10-31	2	Leader	Insecurity, nation	Kärnkraft	
226	DN	1979-10-31	21	Debate article	Globalism, information, nation	Kärnkraft	
621	SvD	1979-11-01	5	News article	Delegitimising dangers, security, politics	Kärnkraft	
620	SvD	1979-11-01	4	Debate article	Globalism, security, exceptionalism	Kärnkraft	
48	Aftonbladet	1979-11-01	4	Debate article	Ambivalence, politics, democracy	Kärnkraft	
49	Aftonbladet	1979	12	News	Risk, security,	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
		-11-01		article	uncertainty		
506	SvD	1979-11-01	2	Leader	Choice, rationalism, compromise	Kärnkraft	
229	DN	1979-11-01	13	Advert	Nation, responsibility, realism	Kärnkraft	
228	DN	1979-11-01	2	Leader	Risk, populism, democracy	Kärnkraft	
47	Aftonbladet	1979-11-01	2	Leader	Risk, future vision, necessity	Kärnkraft	
623	SvD	1979-11-06		News article	Economy, identity, necessity	Kärnkraft	
622	SvD	1979-11-06	5	News article	Consensus, populism, democracy	Kärnkraft	
230	DN	1979-11-07	3	News article	Politics, personality	Kärnkraft	
51	Aftonbladet	1979-11-08	32	News article	Persuasion, identity, politics	Kärnkraft	
624	SvD	1979-11-08	3	Debate article	Peace, security, globalism	Kärnkraft	
818	Expressen	1979-11-09	16	Advert	Need, balance, future vision	Kärnkraft	
52	Aftonbladet	1979-11-09	4	Debate article	Future vision, risk, potential	Kärnkraft	
232	DN	1979-11-09	9	News article	Risk, security	Kärnkraft	
233	DN	1979-11-09	0	News feature	Risk, nation, information	Kärnkraft	
23	DN	1979	6	News	Politics,	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
1		-11-09		article	information		
236	DN	1979-11-10	17	Advert	Necessity, nation	Kärnkraft	
234	DN	1979-11-10	10	News article	Economy, realism, expertise	Kärnkraft	
625	SvD	1979-11-10	4	News article	Security, risk, conflict	Kärnkraft	
626	SvD	1979-11-10	4	News article	Equality, society, economy	Kärnkraft	
235	DN	1979-11-10	10	News article	Economy, alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
819	Expressen	1979-11-11	4	News feature	Conflict, resilience, vision	Kärnkraft	
820	Expressen	1979-11-11	5	News feature	Rationalism, democracy	Kärnkraft	
821	Expressen	1979-11-12	10	News article	Democracy, solidarity, protest	Kärnkraft	
627	SvD	1979-11-12	5	News article	Personality, competence, expertise	Kärnkraft	
237	DN	1979-11-12	8	Debate article	Risk	Kärnkraft	
238	DN	1979-11-13	9	News article	Democracy, populism	Kärnkraft	
822	Expressen	1979-11-13	6	News article	Truth, personality, information	Kärnkraft	
823	Expressen	1979-11-14	6	News article	Personality, truth,	Kärnkraft	
53	Aftonbladet	1979	25	Advert	Nation, necessity,	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
		-11-15			compromise		
824	Expressen	1979-11-15	2	Leader	Vision, demand, democracy	Kärnkraft	
825	Expressen	1979-11-15	32	Advert	Need, nation, vision	Kärnkraft	
630	SvD	1979-11-15	4	News article	Economy, realism, new information	Kärnkraft	
628	SvD	1979-11-15	4	News article	Democracy, future vision	Kärnkraft	
239	DN	1979-11-15	6	News article	Future vision	Kärnkraft	
240	DN	1979-11-15	6	News article	Security	Kärnkraft	
629	SvD	1979-11-15	4	News article	Economy, compromise, realism	Kärnkraft	
631	SvD	1979-11-16	4	News article	New information, economism, realism	Kärnkraft	
54	Aftonbladet	1979-11-16	34	News article	Democracy, opposition, populism	Kärnkraft	
826	Expressen	1979-11-16	2	Leader	Economism, pragmatism, choice	Kärnkraft	
632	SvD	1979-11-17	3	News article	Economism, new information, expertise	Kärnkraft	
55	Aftonbladet	1979-11-17	8	News article	Anti-capitalism, distrust, information	Kärnkraft	
241	DN	1979-11-18	1	News article	Nation, risk, security	Kärnkraft	
63	SvD	1979	2	Leader	Information, anti-	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
3		-11-18			statism, democracy		
24 2	DN	1979 -11-18	6	News article	Politics, nation, democracy	Kärnkraft	
63 4	SvD	1979 -11-19	2	Leader	Compromise, democracy, consensus	Kärnkraft	
63 8	SvD	1979 -11-20	4	News feature	Risk, solution, technologism	Kärnkraft	
63 6	SvD	1979 -11-20	2	Leader	Realism, risk, new information	Kärnkraft	
24 3	DN	1979 -11-20	1	News article	Security, alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
57	Aftonbladet	1979 -11-20	14	News article	Risk, catastrophe, warning	Kärnkraft	
56	Aftonbladet	1979 -11-20	2	Leader	Risk, compromise, information	Kärnkraft	
24 4	DN	1979 -11-20	8	News article	Truth, risk, information	Kärnkraft	
63 9	SvD	1979 -11-21	21	News feature	Possibility, pragmatism, alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
24 5	DN	1979 -11-22	2	Debate article	Uncertainty, risk, future vision	Kärnkraft	
64 0	SvD	1979 -11-22	4	News article	Risk, responsibility, control	Kärnkraft	
24 6	DN	1979 -11-22	8	News article	Economy, security	Kärnkraft	
24 7	DN	1979 -11-23	13	Debate article	Politics, distrust	Kärnkraft	
58	Aftonbladet	1979	10	News	Opposition,	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
		-11-23		article	information, catastrophe		
827	Expressen	1979-11-23	2	Leader	Future vision, uncertainty, nation	Kärnkraft	
828	Expressen	1979-11-23	4	Debate article	Information, community, technologism	Kärnkraft	
641	SvD	1979-11-23	4	News article	Risk, responsibility, control	Kärnkraft	Technical fixes
248	DN	1979-11-24	2	Leader	Determinism, security, alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
249	DN	1979-11-24	8	News article	Information, economy	Kärnkraft	
643	SvD	1979-11-24	2	Leader	Economism, nation, realism	Kärnkraft	
644	SvD	1979-11-24	11	News article	Economism, security, future vision	Kärnkraft	
250	DN	1979-11-24	9	News article	Risk, democracy	Kärnkraft	
251	DN	1979-11-25	2	Debate article	Economy, anti-capitalism, gender	Kärnkraft	
252	DN	1979-11-25	19	News article	Populism, apoliticism	Kärnkraft	Bred uppslutning
645	SvD	1979-11-25	2	Debate article	Democracy, politics	Kärnkraft	
646	SvD	1979-11-26	2	Debate article	Risk, alternative vision, uncertainty	Kärnkraft	
253	DN	1979-11-26	2	Debate article	Information, personality, democracy	Kärnkraft	
64	SvD	1979	2	Leader	Inevitability,	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
7		-11-27			resignation		
648	SvD	1979-11-27	4	News article	Feminism, alternaive vision	Kärnkraft	
59	Aftonbladet	1979-11-27	2	Leader	Potential, democracy, risk	Kärnkraft	
254	DN	1979-11-28	8	News article	Nation, risk, environmentalism	Kärnkraft	
649	SvD	1979-11-28	2	Debate article	Realism, expertise, truth	Kärnkraft	
255	DN	1979-11-29	2	Debate article	Compromise, realism, alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
829	Expressen	1979-11-30	21	Advert	Demcoracy, information	Kärnkraft	Good ad
60	Aftonbladet	1979-11-30	2	Debate article	Economics, democracy, rational	Kärnkraft	
257	DN	1979-11-30	6	News article	Identity, youth, future vision	Kärnkraft	
256	DN	1979-11-30	2	Leader	Risk, security, information	Kärnkraft	
650	SvD	1979-11-30	2	Leader	Anti-socialist, politics, realism	Kärnkraft	
651	SvD	1979-11-30	29	Advert	New information, alternative vision, democracy	Kärnkraft	
258	DN	1979-12-01	2	Debate article	Personality, democracy, determinism	Kärnkraft	
259	DN	1979-12-01	6	News article	Security, future vision	Kärnkraft	
61	Aftonbladet	1979	2	Leader	Identity,	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
		-12-01			determinism, future vision		
260	DN	1979-12-01	15	News article	Necessity, demanding	Kärnkraft	
653	SvD	1979-12-02	5	News article	Activism, movement, engagement	Kärnkraft	
830	Expressen	1979-12-02	8	News article	Conflict, democracy	Kärnkraft	
261	DN	1979-12-02	2	Debate article	Risk, warning, absolutism	Kärnkraft	
262	DN	1979-12-02	9	News article	Personality, division	Kärnkraft	
652	SvD	1979-12-02	3	Debate article	Community, need	Kärnkraft	
654	SvD	1979-12-03	3	Leader	Change, risk	Kärnkraft	
831	Expressen	1979-12-03	2	Leader	Globalism, community, threat	Kärnkraft	
832	Expressen	1979-12-03	4	Debate article	Anti-socialism, risk, technologism	Kärnkraft	
833	Expressen	1979-12-04	6	News feature	Personality, frugality, information	Kärnkraft	
63	Aftonbladet	1979-12-04	6	News article	Democracy, alternative vision, identity	Kärnkraft	
62	Aftonbladet	1979-12-04	2	Leader	Future vision, alternative vision, problematic	Kärnkraft	
655	SvD	1979-12-04	3	Debate article	Need, necessity, alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
26	DN	1979	6	News	Compromise,	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
4		-12-05		article	alternative vision		
263	DN	1979-12-05	6	News article	Determinism, absolutism	Kärnkraft	
64	Aftonbladet	1979-12-05	2	Leader	Politics, alternative vision, future	Kärnkraft	
658	SvD	1979-12-05	4	News article	Certainty, vision	Kärnkraft	
657	SvD	1979-12-05	2	Leader	Decisiveness, leadership, vision	Kärnkraft	
836	Expressen	1979-12-05	2	Leader	Consensus, future vision	Kärnkraft	
835	Expressen	1979-12-05	2	Leader	Democracy, uncertainty, vision	Kärnkraft	
265	DN	1979-12-05	33	News article	Environmentalism, economy, populism	Kärnkraft	
838	Expressen	1979-12-06	26	News feature	Fatalism, realism, economism	Kärnkraft	
837	Expressen	1979-12-06	4	Debate article	Failure, fatalism, realism	Kärnkraft	
268	DN	1979-12-07	39	News article	Information, truth	Kärnkraft	
840	Expressen	1979-12-07	27	Advert	Information, inquiry, truth	Kärnkraft	
269	DN	1979-12-07	39	News article		Kärnkraft	
267	DN	1979-12-07	16	News article	Information, security	Kärnkraft	
26	DN	1979	2	Debate	Truth, democracy	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
6		-12-07		article			
839	Expressen	1979-12-07	18	Advert	Resistance, democracy, nation	Kärnkraft	
659	SvD	1979-12-08	14	News feature	Alternative vision, technologism	Kärnkraft	
270	DN	1979-12-08	2	Leader	Risk, distrust, alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
273	DN	1979-12-08	42	News article	Security, delegitimation	Kärnkraft	
272	DN	1979-12-08	29	News feature	Gender, alternative vision	Kärnkraft	VERY GOOD ON MANY FRONTS
271	DN	1979-12-08	12	News article	Information	Kärnkraft	
274	DN	1979-12-08	41	Debate article	Economy, future vision	Kärnkraft	
65	Aftonbladet	1979-12-09	26	News feature	Opposition, populism, democracy	Kärnkraft	
660	SvD	1979-12-09	4	News article	New information, security, expertise	Kärnkraft	
66	Aftonbladet	1979-12-10	2	Debate article	Fatalism, alternative vision, necessity	Kärnkraft	
662	SvD	1979-12-10	5	News article		Kärnkraft	
275	DN	1979-12-10	2	Debate article	Division, uncertainty	Kärnkraft	
661	SvD	1979-12-10	3	Debate article	Challenge, realism, information	Kärnkraft	
66	SvD	1979	29	News	Feminism,	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
3		-12-12		feature	resistance		
27 7	DN	1979 -12-12	3	Leader	Politics, democracy	Kärnkraft	
27 8	DN	1979 -12-12	10	News article	Risk, information, anti-capitalism	Kärnkraft	
66 5	SvD	1979 -12-13	3	Debate article	Responsibility, vision, need	Kärnkraft	
66 4	SvD	1979 -12-13	2	Leader	Anti-socialism, indecisiveness	Kärnkraft	
67	Aftonbladet	1979 -12-13	11	News feature	Division, identity, democracy	Kärnkraft	
28 0	DN	1979 -12-13	6	News article		Kärnkraft	
27 9	DN	1979 -12-13	6	News article	Politics, compromise, necessity	Kärnkraft	
28 1	DN	1979 -12-13	31	News feature	Populism, democracy	Kärnkraft	
84 1	Expressen	1979 -12-13	2	Leader	Insight, information, choice	Kärnkraft	
66 6	SvD	1979 -12-14	5	News article	Consistency, leadership, pragmatism	Kärnkraft	
28 3	DN	1979 -12-14	2	Debate article	Determinism, security, humanism	Kärnkraft	
68	Aftonbladet	1979 -12-14	24	News feature	Anti-capitalism, identity, nation	Kärnkraft	
28 2	DN	1979 -12-14	1	News article	Democracy, politics	Kärnkraft	
28	DN	1979	1	News	Personality,	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
4		-12-15		article	alternative vision		
66 7	SvD	1979 -12-15	3	Debate article	Nation, risk, opposition	Kärnkraft	
28 5	DN	1979 -12-15	2	Debate article		Kärnkraft	
69	Aftonbladet	1979 -12-15	4	Debate article	Democracy, victimhood, resilience	Kärnkraft	
70	Aftonbladet	1979 -12-15	22	News article	Anti-capitalism, nation, gender	Kärnkraft	
84 2	Expressen	1979 -12-16	2	Leader	Populism, democracy	Kärnkraft	
66 9	SvD	1979 -12-16	4	News article	Technologism, security	Kärnkraft	
66 8	SvD	1979 -12-16	2	Leader	Democracy, uncertainty	Kärnkraft	
28 7	DN	1979 -12-17	2	Debate article	Information, warning, environmentalism	Kärnkraft	
84 3	Expressen	1979 -12-17	2	Leader	Populism, democracy, realism	Kärnkraft	
67 0	SvD	1979 -12-17	2	Leader	Anti-socialism, vision, need	Kärnkraft	
28 6	DN	1979 -12-17	1	News article	Democracy	Kärnkraft	
71	Aftonbladet	1979 -12-17	6	News feature	Democracy, information, alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
67 1	SvD	1979 -12-17	12	News article	Clarity, democracy	Kärnkraft	
84	Expressen	1979	6	News	Uncertainty,	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
4		-12-17		feature	accountability, vision		
72	Aftonbladet	1979-12-18	11	News feature	Distrust, information, politics	Kärnkraft	
288	DN	1979-12-18	1	News article	Structure, democracy	Kärnkraft	
672	SvD	1979-12-18	2	Leader	Clarity, democracy, choice	Kärnkraft	
673	SvD	1979-12-18	3	Debate article	Democracy, freedom, threat	Kärnkraft	
845	Expressen	1979-12-18	2	Debate article	Nation, risk, warning	Kärnkraft	
674	SvD	1979-12-19	6	News article	Investment, comparison, modernity	Kärnkraft	
290	DN	1979-12-20	11	News article	Regionalism, identity, risk	Kärnkraft	
289	DN	1979-12-20	2	News article	Identity, control	Kärnkraft	
675	SvD	1979-12-20	2	Debate article	Realism, business, economism	Kärnkraft	
291	DN	1979-12-21	6	News article	Division, identity, competition	Kärnkraft	
73	Aftonbladet	1979-12-22	2	Debate article	Environmentalism, division, alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
292	DN	1979-12-22	1	News article	risk, environmentalism, responsibility	Kärnkraft	
677	SvD	1979-12-22	5	News article	Competition, politics, identity	Kärnkraft	
67	SvD	1979	3	Debate	Health,	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
6		-12-22		article	economism, nation		
84 6	Expressen	1979 -12-22	2	Leader	Risk, fatalism, technologism	Kärnkraft	
74	Aftonbladet	1979 -12-23	9	News feature	Alternative vision, greenism	Kärnkraft	
84 7	Expressen	1979 -12-23	2	Debate article	Alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
29 4	DN	1979 -12-23	2	Debate article	Economy, future vision	Kärnkraft	
29 3	DN	1979 -12-23	1	News article	Democracy, compromise	Kärnkraft	
67 8	SvD	1979 -12-23	2	Leader	Identity, loyalty, politics	Kärnkraft	
67 9	SvD	1979 -12-24	13	News article	Change, democracy	Kärnkraft	
29 5	DN	1979 -12-24	2	Leader	Solidarity, altruism, alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
84 8	Expressen	1979 -12-28	2	Debate article	Choice, nation, democracy	Kärnkraft	
75	Aftonbladet	1979 -12-28	9	News article	Identity, personality, democracy	Kärnkraft	
68 1	SvD	1979 -12-29	5	News article	Risk, technologism, threat	Kärnkraft	
68 0	SvD	1979 -12-29	3	Debate article	Necessity, security	Kärnkraft	
29 6	DN	1979 -12-30	2	Debate article	Distrust, truth, economy	Kärnkraft	
76	Aftonbladet	1979	2	Leader	Politics, division,	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
		-12-30			instability		
77	Aftonbladet	1979-12-31	5	Culture	Catastrophe, future, risk	Kärnkraft	
849	Expressen	1979-12-31	2	Leader	scepticism, risk, alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
682	SvD	1979-12-31	4	News article	anti-socialist, politics, identity	Kärnkraft	
683	SvD	1980-01-02	3	Debate article	Realism, future vision, need	Kärnkraft	
297	DN	1980-01-03	2	Debate article	Gender, determinism	Kärnkraft	
78	Aftonbladet	1980-01-04	2	Leader	Politics, democracy, personality	Kärnkraft	
299	DN	1980-01-04	7	Debate article	Environmentalism, alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
850	Expressen	1980-01-04	4	News article	Inter generationalism, nation, pastorlism	Kärnkraft	Astrid Lindgren
298	DN	1980-01-04	6	News article	Information, rational	Kärnkraft	
685	SvD	1980-01-04	5	News article	Security, future vision, nation	Kärnkraft	
684	SvD	1980-01-04	2	Leader	Personality, security	Kärnkraft	
300	DN	1980-01-05	2	Debate article	Risk, rational, information	Kärnkraft	
301	DN	1980-01-05	6	News article	Risk, relativism,	Kärnkraft	
85	Expressen	1980	8	News	Personality,	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
1		-01-05		article	information		
85 2	Expressen	1980 -01-05	11	News feature	Personality, neutrality, expertise	Kärnkraft	
68 6	SvD	1980 -01-05	3	Debate article	Nation, dependency, risk	Kärnkraft	
30 2	DN	1980 -01-06	2	Debate article	Gender, information, alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
68 7	SvD	1980 -01-07	2	Leader	Positive vision,	Kärnkraft	
85 3	Expressen	1980 -01-07	28	News feature	Alternative vision, pastoralism, nation	Kärnkraft	
30 3	DN	1980 -01-07	2	Debate article	Necessity, responsibility, realism	Kärnkraft	Line 1.
68 8	SvD	1980 -01-07	5	News article	New information, fact, empiricism	Kärnkraft	
85 7	Expressen	1980 -01-08	23	News article	Globalism, personality	Kärnkraft	
85 4	Expressen	1980 -01-08	15	Debate article	Risk, information, personality	Kärnkraft	
85 5	Expressen	1980 -01-08	18	News article	Democracy, personality, choice	Kärnkraft	
79	Aftonbladet	1980 -01-08	4	Debate article	Politics, information, distrust	Kärnkraft	
85 6	Expressen	1980 -01-08	21	Advert	Nation, community, information	Kärnkraft	
68 9	SvD	1980 -01-09	4	News article	Alternative vision, security, unity	Kärnkraft	
30	DN	1980	2	Leader	Democracy,	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
4		-01-09			alternative vision, politics		
690	SvD	1980-01-10	3	Debate article	Economism, realism, new information	Kärnkraft	
859	Expressen	1980-01-11	4	Debate article	Personality, normality, community	Kärnkraft	
858	Expressen	1980-01-11	2	Debate article	Vision, reassurance	Kärnkraft	
305	DN	1980-01-11	2	Debate article	Alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
306	DN	1980-01-11	16	Advert	Gender, anti-capitalism	Kärnkraft	Very good
307	DN	1980-01-12	1	News article	Identity, democracy	Kärnkraft	
860	Expressen	1980-01-12	13	News article	Future vision, necessity, pragmatism	Kärnkraft	
861	Expressen	1980-01-12	18	Debate article	Realism, risk,	Kärnkraft	
867	Expressen	1980-01-13	11	News feature	Populism, democracy	Kärnkraft	Bilagan
862	Expressen	1980-01-13	2	Debate article	Realism, fatalism,	Kärnkraft	
863	Expressen	1980-01-13	2	News feature	Nation, community, temporality	Kärnkraft	Bilagan
864	Expressen	1980-01-13	7	News feature	Nation, temporality, realism	Kärnkraft	Bilagan
865	Expressen	1980-01-13	9	Debate article	Rationalism, information, measuredness	Kärnkraft	Bilagan
86	Expressen	1980	8	Debate	Rationalism,	Kärnkraft	Bilagan

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
6		-01-13		article	information, expertise		
308	DN	1980-01-13	9	News feature	Alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
691	SvD	1980-01-13	4	News article	War, competition, politics	Kärnkraft	
80	Aftonbladet	1980-01-14	12	News article	Technologism, security, information	Kärnkraft	
692	SvD	1980-01-14	5	News article	Consequence, choice, information	Kärnkraft	Water power!
868	Expressen	1980-01-15	2	Debate article	Anti-socialism, democracy, alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
694	SvD	1980-01-15	3	Debate article	Threat, freedom, democracy	Kärnkraft	
693	SvD	1980-01-15	2	Leader	Impotence, anti-socialism, inevitability	Kärnkraft	
311	DN	1980-01-16	27	News feature	Information, delegitimising dangers	Kärnkraft	
869	Expressen	1980-01-16	17	News article	Personality, consensus, democracy	Kärnkraft	
310	DN	1980-01-16	2	Debate article		Kärnkraft	
309	DN	1980-01-16	1	News article	Populism, determinism	Kärnkraft	
872	Expressen	1980-01-17	25	Advert	Nation, community, democracy	Kärnkraft	
82	Aftonbladet	1980-01-17	4	Debate article	Distrust, politics, democracy	Kärnkraft	
81	Aftonbladet	1980	1	News	Division, identity,	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
		-01-17		article	gender		
313	DN	1980-01-17	2	Debate article	Necessity, opposition	Kärnkraft	
314	DN	1980-01-17	6	News article	Truth, information, virtue	Kärnkraft	
312	DN	1980-01-17	2	Leader	Truth, community, democracy	Kärnkraft	
870	Expressen	1980-01-17	2	Leader	Criticism, pragmatism, technologism	Kärnkraft	
317	DN	1980-01-17	27	News article	Alternative vision, globalism	Kärnkraft	
316	DN	1980-01-17	11	Advert	Populism, collectivism, security	Kärnkraft	
871	Expressen	1980-01-17	2	Debate article	Solidarity, globalism, realism	Kärnkraft	
315	DN	1980-01-17	10	News article	Compromise, realism, future vision	Kärnkraft	
695	SvD	1980-01-18	3	Debate article	Existentialism, eden, environmentalism	Kärnkraft	
318	DN	1980-01-19	2	Debate article	Distrust, democracy, truth	Kärnkraft	
696	SvD	1980-01-19	7	News article	Change, feminism, peace	Kärnkraft	
319	DN	1980-01-20	2	Debate article	Alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
320	DN	1980-01-21	2	Debate article	Alarmist, responsibility, distrust	Kärnkraft	
69	SvD	1980	5	News	Possibility, future	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
7		-01-21		feature	vision, new information		
698	SvD	1980-01-21	3	Debate article		Kärnkraft	
83	Aftonbladet	1980-01-23	20	News feature	Identity, politics, personality	Kärnkraft	
321	DN	1980-01-23	6	News article	Solidarity, anti-capitalism	Kärnkraft	
699	SvD	1980-01-23	3	Debate article	Expertise, future vision, politics	Kärnkraft	
874	Expressen	1980-01-24	2	Debate article	Diversity, democracy, populism	Kärnkraft	
322	DN	1980-01-24	2	Leader	Alternative vision, common sense	Kärnkraft	
700	SvD	1980-01-24	3	Debate article	Security, risk, uncertainty	Kärnkraft	
873	Expressen	1980-01-24	2	Leader	Inquisitiveness, information,	Kärnkraft	
84	Aftonbladet	1980-01-24	2	Leader	Responsibility, personality, nation	Kärnkraft	
878	Expressen	1980-01-25	22	Advert	Information, technologism, modernity	Kärnkraft	
875	Expressen	1980-01-25	2	Debate article	Fatalism, realism, information	Kärnkraft	
877	Expressen	1980-01-25	8	News article	Information, risk, anti-americanism	Kärnkraft	
326	DN	1980-01-25	11	News article	Information, security	Kärnkraft	
32	DN	1980	7	News	Distrust,	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
5		-01-25		article	responsibility		
32 4	DN	1980 -01-25	4	Debate article	Economy, alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
32 3	DN	1980 -01-25	2	Leader	Risk, environmentalism	Kärnkraft	
87 6	Expressen	1980 -01-25	6	News article	Anti-capitalism, personality, democracy	Kärnkraft	
32 7	DN	1980 -01-26	14	News article	Distrust, anti-capitalism	Kärnkraft	
85	Aftonbladet	1980 -01-26	17	News feature	Gender, politics, division	Kärnkraft	
70 1	SvD	1980 -01-27	5	News article	Politics, protest	Kärnkraft	
87 9	Expressen	1980 -01-27	4	Debate article	Conflict, risk, uncertainty	Kärnkraft	
88 0	Expressen	1980 -01-27	2	News feature	Information, technologism	Kärnkraft	Bilagan
32 8	DN	1980 -01-28	2	Debate article	Future vision	Kärnkraft	
70 3	SvD	1980 -01-28	40	News feature	Alternative vision, opportunity, nation	Kärnkraft	
88 2	Expressen	1980 -01-28	25	News feature	Feminism, pastoralism, inter generationalism	Kärnkraft	
88 1	Expressen	1980 -01-28	5	Debate article	Feminism, social democratic, solidarity	Kärnkraft	
88 3	Expressen	1980 -01-29	2	Debate article	Future vision, technologism, pragmatism	Kärnkraft	
32	DN	1980	2	Leader	Nation, security	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
9		-01-30					
330	DN	1980-01-30	3	News article	Risk, alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
704	SvD	1980-01-30	3	Debate article	New information, expertise, future vision	Kärnkraft	
705	SvD	1980-01-31	2	Leader	Anti-communism, democracy, nation	Kärnkraft	
86	Aftonbladet	1980-02-01	22	News article	Uncertainty, potential, identity	Kärnkraft	
331	DN	1980-02-01	4	Debate article	Solidarity, responsibility	Kärnkraft	Nuclear weapons
332	DN	1980-02-01	10	News article	Gender,	Kärnkraft	
707	SvD	1980-02-01	4	News article	Truth, expertise, new information	Kärnkraft	
706	SvD	1980-02-01	3	Debate article	Democracy, responsibility	Kärnkraft	
884	Expressen	1980-02-02	19	News article	Anti-politics, democratic, competition	Kärnkraft	
708	SvD	1980-02-02	3	Debate article	Responsibility, knowledge, information	Kärnkraft	
709	SvD	1980-02-02	5	News article	Threat, nation, risk	Kärnkraft	
710	SvD	1980-02-03	2	Leader	identity, uncertainty, environmentalism	Kärnkraft	
711	SvD	1980-02-04	5	News article	Technologism, nation	Kärnkraft	
33	DN	1980	2	Leader	Alternative vision	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
3		-02-04					
334	DN	1980-02-04	2	Leader	Distrust, truth	Kärnkraft	
88	Aftonbladet	1980-02-04	5	Debate article	Security, future vision, community	Kärnkraft	
87	Aftonbladet	1980-02-04	2	Leader	Risk, politics, personality	Kärnkraft	
886	Expressen	1980-02-05	4	Culture	Democracy, objectivity	Kärnkraft	
885	Expressen	1980-02-05	3	Letter	Warning, pessimism, information	Kärnkraft	
712	SvD	1980-02-05	4	News article	Difference, identity	Kärnkraft	
335	DN	1980-02-05	10	News article	Youth, future vision, democracy	Kärnkraft	
887	Expressen	1980-02-06	2	Leader	Solidarity, globalism, peace	Kärnkraft	
713	SvD	1980-02-06	2	Leader	New information, expertise	Kärnkraft	
714	SvD	1980-02-06	3	Debate article	Loyalty, expertise	Kärnkraft	
888	Expressen	1980-02-06	5	News article	Freedom, democracy, aesthetics	Kärnkraft	
89	Aftonbladet	1980-02-06	2	Debate article	Information, distrust, truth	Kärnkraft	
889	Expressen	1980-02-07	30	News article	Personality, culture, resistance	Kärnkraft	
90	Aftonbladet	1980	4	Culture	Future vision, risk,	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
		-02-07			nation		
716	SvD	1980-02-07	7	News feature	Future vision, need	Kärnkraft	
337	DN	1980-02-08	21	News article	Alternative vision, future vision, democracy	Kärnkraft	
336	DN	1980-02-08	8	Debate article	Alternative vision, future vision, democracy	Kärnkraft	
890	Expressen	1980-02-08	2	Debate article	Democracy, nation, truth	Kärnkraft	
892	Expressen	1980-02-08	6	News article	Truth, information,	Kärnkraft	
891	Expressen	1980-02-08	4	Debate article	Populism, democracy, nation	Kärnkraft	
338	DN	1980-02-09	2	Debate article	Security, questioning, identity	Kärnkraft	
339	DN	1980-02-09	7	News article	Risk, nation	Kärnkraft	
715	SvD	1980-02-09	2	Leader	Trust, democracy, responsibility	Kärnkraft	
91	Aftonbladet	1980-02-09	2	Debate article	Economy, security, future vision	Kärnkraft	
340	DN	1980-02-10	5	News article	Solidarity, nation, risk	Kärnkraft	
92	Aftonbladet	1980-02-10	4	Advert	Identity, determinism, alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
341	DN	1980-02-10	5	News article		Kärnkraft	
71	SvD	1980	4	News	Socialism,	Kärnkraft	Solidarity/socialism

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
7		-02-10		article	globalism, necessity		
719	SvD	1980-02-11	5	News feature	Economism, realism, security	Kärnkraft	
893	Expressen	1980-02-11	4	Debate article	Warning, need, fatalism	Kärnkraft	
718	SvD	1980-02-11	2	Debate article	Anti-socialism, identity	Kärnkraft	
342	DN	1980-02-11	31	News article	Truth, information, risk	Kärnkraft	
93	Aftonbladet	1980-02-12	2	Leader	Gender, threat, alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
94	Aftonbladet	1980-02-12	12	News feature	Future vision, information, identity	Kärnkraft	
720	SvD	1980-02-12	4	News feature	Identity, narrative	Kärnkraft	
894	Expressen	1980-02-12	4	Debate article		Kärnkraft	
343	DN	1980-02-12	2	Debate article	Democracy, information, freedom	Kärnkraft	
344	DN	1980-02-12	4	Culture	Future vision, positionality, temporality	Kärnkraft	
345	DN	1980-02-12	5	News article	Democracy, information	Kärnkraft	
346	DN	1980-02-12	7	News article	Identity, fatalism	Kärnkraft	
721	SvD	1980-02-13	2	Leader	Identity, democracy, populism	Kärnkraft	
95	Aftonbladet	1980	2	Leader	Future vision,	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
		-02-13			information, security		
72 2	SvD	1980 -02-13	3	Debate article	Fatalism, realism	Kärnkraft	
34 8	DN	1980 -02-13	11	Advert	Necessity, realism	Kärnkraft	
34 7	DN	1980 -02-13	2	Debate article	Compromise, balance, future vision	Kärnkraft	
72 3	SvD	1980 -02-14	2	Leader	Truth, new information,	Kärnkraft	
34 9	DN	1980 -02-14	2	Debate article	Anti-capitalism, solidarity	Kärnkraft	
35 0	DN	1980 -02-14	2	Leader	Distrust, identity	Kärnkraft	
35 1	DN	1980 -02-14	3	News article	Information, risk	Kärnkraft	
96	Aftonbladet	1980 -02-14	7	News article	Risk, catastrophe, danger	Kärnkraft	
72 4	SvD	1980 -02-14	41	Advert	Necessity, pragmatism, new information	Kärnkraft	
72 5	SvD	1980 -02-15	4	News article	Ingenuity, nation, technologism	Kärnkraft	Autarky/technmodernism
89 5	Expressen	1980 -02-15	2	Debate article	Anti-capitalism, truth, challenge	Kärnkraft	
35 5	DN	1980 -02-15	7	News article	Consensus, risk	Kärnkraft	
35 4	DN	1980 -02-15	6	News article	Risk, catastrophe,	Kärnkraft	
35	DN	1980	3	News	Alternative vision,	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
3		-02-15		article	new information, regionalism		
35 2	DN	1980 -02-15	2	Debate article		Kärnkraft	
97	Aftonbladet	1980 -02-16	2	Leader	Democracy, information, freedom	Kärnkraft	
89 6	Expressen	1980 -02-16	21	Advert	Need, alternative vision, community	Kärnkraft	
72 6	SvD	1980 -02-16	3	Debate article	Risk, choice	Kärnkraft	
98	Aftonbladet	1980 -02-16	8	News article	Risk, information, truth	Kärnkraft	
35 7	DN	1980 -02-16	6	News article	Identity, splits, community	Kärnkraft	
35 6	DN	1980 -02-16	2	Leader	Personality, cynicism, determinism	Kärnkraft	
72 7	SvD	1980 -02-16	4	News article	Truth, bias, balance	Kärnkraft	
72 8	SvD	1980 -02-17	2	Leader	Anti-communism, leadership, nation	Kärnkraft	
89 7	Expressen	1980 -02-17	5	Advert	Educationalism, information, security	Kärnkraft	
72 9	SvD	1980 -02-18	10	Advert	Democracy, personality	Kärnkraft	
73 3	SvD	1980 -02-18	36	News feature	Nation, threat, risk	Kärnkraft	
35 8	DN	1980 -02-18	2	Debate article	Distrust, personality	Kärnkraft	
73	SvD	1980	27	Letter	Inevitability,	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
0		-02-18			democracy		
731	SvD	1980-02-18	36	News article	Democracy, competition	Kärnkraft	
99	Aftonbladet	1980-02-19	2	Debate article	Alternative vision, progress, potential	Kärnkraft	
100	Aftonbladet	1980-02-19	8	News article	Personality, control, populism	Kärnkraft	
734	SvD	1980-02-19	3	Debate article	Reassurance, information, expertise	Kärnkraft	
735	SvD	1980-02-19	2	Leader	Anti-socialism, security, uncertainty	Kärnkraft	
737	SvD	1980-02-20	4	News article	Solidarity, security, choice	Kärnkraft	
359	DN	1980-02-20	8	Debate article	Alternative vision, determinism	Kärnkraft	
360	DN	1980-02-20	10	News article		Kärnkraft	
736	SvD	1980-02-20	3	Debate article	Information, democracy, technologism	Kärnkraft	
898	Expressen	1980-02-20	6	News article	Fatalism, realism, decline	Kärnkraft	
361	DN	1980-02-21	2	Leader	Alternative vision, security (reassuring)	Kärnkraft	
363	DN	1980-02-21	10	News article	Information, truth	Kärnkraft	
101	Aftonbladet	1980-02-21	2	Debate article	Economy, risk, security	Kärnkraft	
36	DN	1980	7	News	Economy, future	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
2		-02-21		article	vision		
738	SvD	1980-02-22	4	News article	Reassurance, security, vision	Kärnkraft	
739	SvD	1980-02-22	5	News article		Kärnkraft	
102	Aftonbladet	1980-02-22	2	Debate article	Distrust, information, truth	Kärnkraft	
899	Expressen	1980-02-22	10	News article	Currency, competition, politics	Kärnkraft	
900	Expressen	1980-02-22	15	News article	Nation, culture, flippancy	Kärnkraft	
364	DN	1980-02-22	1	News article	Risk, information, warning	Kärnkraft	
740	SvD	1980-02-23	2	Leader	Choice, gravity, realism	Kärnkraft	
103	Aftonbladet	1980-02-23	20	News feature	Identity, potential, competition	Kärnkraft	
365	DN	1980-02-24	1	News article	Politics, democracy, dichotomy	Kärnkraft	
368	DN	1980-02-24	11	News article	Information, security, economy	Kärnkraft	
367	DN	1980-02-24	6	News feature	Nation, warning, populism	Kärnkraft	
741	SvD	1980-02-24	2	Leader	Personality, identity	Kärnkraft	
366	DN	1980-02-24	2	Debate article	Risk, information	Kärnkraft	
74	SvD	1980	4	News	Security, vision,	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
3		-02-24		article	need		
104	Aftonbladet	1980-02-24	22	News feature	Risk, information, truth	Kärnkraft	
742	SvD	1980-02-24	3	Debate article	Future vision, intergenerational solidarity, freedom	Kärnkraft	
744	SvD	1980-02-25	2	Leader	Regionalism, economism, security	Kärnkraft	
369	DN	1980-02-26	2	Leader	Competition	Kärnkraft	
106	Aftonbladet	1980-02-26	17	News feature	Personality, security, technology	Kärnkraft	
745	SvD	1980-02-26	5	News article	Future vision, opportunity	Kärnkraft	
105	Aftonbladet	1980-02-26	16	Debate article	Gender, risk, information	Kärnkraft	
901	Expressen	1980-02-27	6	News article	Truth, legitimacy, integrity	Kärnkraft	
108	Aftonbladet	1980-02-27	15	News feature	Risk, security, trust	Kärnkraft	
107	Aftonbladet	1980-02-27	2	Leader	Risk, distrust, truth	Kärnkraft	
902	Expressen	1980-02-27	23	Advert	Reassurance, pragmatism, future vision	Kärnkraft	
371	DN	1980-02-27	6	News article	Future vision	Kärnkraft	
372	DN	1980-02-27	8	News article	Realism, necessity, future vision	Kärnkraft	GOOD EXAMPLE

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
373	DN	1980-02-27	29	News feature	Community, risk,	Kärnkraft	
374	DN	1980-02-27	2	Leader	truth, distrust, democracy	Kärnkraft	
375	DN	1980-02-27	6	News article	Necessity, nation, economy	Kärnkraft	
376	DN	1980-02-27	40	News feature	Community, deligitimising dangers	Kärnkraft	
370	DN	1980-02-27	2	Debate article	Security, speculation	Kärnkraft	
110	Aftonbladet	1980-02-28	18	News feature	Anti-capitalism, pollution, otherness	Kärnkraft	
378	DN	1980-02-28	2	Debate article	Gender, information, politics	Kärnkraft	HANS BLIX
377	DN	1980-02-28	2	Leader	Populism, democracy	Kärnkraft	
903	Expressen	1980-02-28	9	News article	Information, truth, balance	Kärnkraft	
747	SvD	1980-02-28	7	News article	Risk, nation, globalism	Kärnkraft	
746	SvD	1980-02-28	5	News article	Consistency, certainty	Kärnkraft	
109	Aftonbladet	1980-02-28	2	Leader	Rational, deterministic, future vision	Kärnkraft	
111	Aftonbladet	1980-02-28	19	News feature	Information, democracy, truth	Kärnkraft	
750	SvD	1980-02-29	4	News article	Populism, consensus, realism	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
11 2	Aftonbladet	1980 -02- 29	20	Advert	Gender, future vision, solidarity	Kärnkraft	WOMEN
75 1	SvD	1980 -02- 29	13	News article	Alternative vision, technologism	Kärnkraft	
74 9	SvD	1980 -02- 29	3	Debate article	Rationalism, choice, information	Kärnkraft	
74 8	SvD	1980 -02- 29	2	Interview	Expertise, feminism, reassurance	Kärnkraft	Feminism/women
90 4	Expressen	1980 -02- 29	9	News article	Reassurance, personality, populism	Kärnkraft	
38 2	DN	1980 -03- 01	29	News feature	Risk, populism	Kärnkraft	
75 3	SvD	1980 -03- 01	3	Debate article	Democracy, truth, responsibility	Kärnkraft	
75 4	SvD	1980 -03- 01	10	News article	Economism, realism, vision	Kärnkraft	
75 2	SvD	1980 -03- 01	2	Leader	Consensus, new information, choice	Kärnkraft	
11 5	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 01	27	News feature	distrust, information, populism	Kärnkraft	
11 3	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 01	2	Debate article	Trust, division, identity	Kärnkraft	
38 1	DN	1980 -03- 01	23	Advert	Security, economy, future vision	Kärnkraft	
38 0	DN	1980 -03- 01	7	News article	Globalism, nation	Kärnkraft	
37 9	DN	1980 -03- 01	6	News article	Realism, future vision, security	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
11 6	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 01	22	News feature	Personality, identity, trust	Kärnkraft	
11 4	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 01	22	Advert	Alternative vision, information, democracy	Kärnkraft	
75 5	SvD	1980 -03- 02	2	Leader	New information,	Kärnkraft	
90 5	Expressen	1980 -03- 02	2	Debate article	Pragmatism, alternative vision, need	Kärnkraft	
38 4	DN	1980 -03- 02	7	News article	Nation, anti-americanism	Kärnkraft	
38 5	DN	1980 -03- 02	36	News article		Kärnkraft	
75 7	SvD	1980 -03- 02	3	News feature	Conflict, choice, information	Kärnkraft	Bilagan
75 6	SvD	1980 -03- 02	5	News article	Opportunity, realism, inevitability	Kärnkraft	
38 3	DN	1980 -03- 02	2	Debate article	Economy, gender, alternative vision	Kärnkraft	EVA MOBERG
90 6	Expressen	1980 -03- 02	10	News article	Existentialism, technologism, feminism	Kärnkraft	
90 7	Expressen	1980 -03- 02	16	Advert	conservation, responsibility, realism	Kärnkraft	
91 0	Expressen	1980 -03- 03	10	News feature	Competition, identity, progress	Kärnkraft	
75 8	SvD	1980 -03- 03	5	News article	Nation, dependency, weakness	Kärnkraft	
91 3	Expressen	1980 -03- 03	24	Debate article	Democracy, expertise, warning	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
91 1	Expressen	1980 -03- 03	12	Debate article	Feminism, pastoralism, democracy	Kärnkraft	Lindgren
38 6	DN	1980 -03- 03	2	Debate article	restraint, realism	Kärnkraft	
38 7	DN	1980 -03- 03	7	News article	Politics, consensus	Kärnkraft	
91 2	Expressen	1980 -03- 03	13	News article	Truth, new information, risk	Kärnkraft	
90 9	Expressen	1980 -03- 03	4	Debate article	Fatalism, alternative vision, warning	Kärnkraft	
90 8	Expressen	1980 -03- 03	1	News article	Populism, democracy, community	Kärnkraft	
38 8	DN	1980 -03- 03	42	News feature	Security, future	Kärnkraft	
11 7	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 04	2	Leader	Risk, security	Kärnkraft	
91 5	Expressen	1980 -03- 04	10	News article	Social democracy, identity, determinism	Kärnkraft	
75 9	SvD	1980 -03- 04	5	News article	Expertise, new information, reassurance	Kärnkraft	
91 6	Expressen	1980 -03- 04	11	News article	Feminism, identity, choice	Kärnkraft	
11 9	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 04	22	News feature	Risk, security, distrust	Kärnkraft	
39 0	DN	1980 -03- 04	7	News article	Future security, environmentalism	Kärnkraft	
11 8	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 04	12	Debate article	Information, gender, distrust	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
91 4	Expressen	1980 -03- 04	2	Leader	Future vision, inevitability, warning	Kärnkraft	
38 9	DN	1980 -03- 04	2	Leader	Inevitability	Kärnkraft	
91 7	Expressen	1980 -03- 04	12	Debate article	Realism, pragmatism, expertise	Kärnkraft	
76 1	SvD	1980 -03- 05	3	Debate article	Weakness, future vision, competency	Kärnkraft	'Government without a map'
92 0	Expressen	1980 -03- 05	24	News feature	Information, friendliness, domesticity	Kärnkraft	
76 0	SvD	1980 -03- 05	2	Leader	Expertise, risk, realism	Kärnkraft	
91 9	Expressen	1980 -03- 05	16	Debate article	Liberation, alternative vision, anti-capitalism	Kärnkraft	
12 1	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 05	16	News feature	Truth, information, competition	Kärnkraft	
92 1	Expressen	1980 -03- 05	27	News feature	Personality, social democracy, determinism	Kärnkraft	
76 2	SvD	1980 -03- 05	5	News article	Social democracy, determinism, security	Kärnkraft	
91 8	Expressen	1980 -03- 05	16	News article	Existentialism, environmentalism, leadership	Kärnkraft	
39 4	DN	1980 -03- 05	7	News article	Risk, security	Kärnkraft	
12 0	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 05	2	Debate article	Doubt, distrust, responsibility	Kärnkraft	
12 2	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 05	20	News feature	Identity, future vision, personality	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
12 3	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 05	3	Advert	Risk, responsibility, challenge	Kärnkraft	
39 3	DN	1980 -03- 05	7	Cartoon	Irony, nation, community	Kärnkraft	
39 1	DN	1980 -03- 05	1	News article	Responsibility, familiarity	Kärnkraft	
39 2	DN	1980 -03- 05	6	News article	Identity, information	Kärnkraft	
92 3	Expressen	1980 -03- 06	5	Debate article	Truth, balance	Kärnkraft	
92 4	Expressen	1980 -03- 06	17	Debate article	Democracy, reassurance, truth	Kärnkraft	
76 3	SvD	1980 -03- 06	2	Leader	Existentialism, deep time, moralism	Kärnkraft	
39 8	DN	1980 -03- 06	41	News article	populism anecdotalism	Kärnkraft	
39 7	DN	1980 -03- 06	35	Advert	future past environmentalism	Kärnkraft	
39 5	DN	1980 -03- 06	2	Leader	solidarity, globalism	Kärnkraft	
92 2	Expressen	1980 -03- 06	4	Debate article	Realism, expertise, criticism	Kärnkraft	
12 4	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 06	18	News feature	Identity, personality, competition	Kärnkraft	
39 6	DN	1980 -03- 06	8	News article	Economy, future vision	Kärnkraft	
12 6	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 07	19	News article	Information, future vision, identity	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
125	Aftonbladet	1980-03-07	19	News article	Identity, pessimism, normative	Kärnkraft	
764	SvD	1980-03-07	11	News feature	Globalism, normalisation, exceptionalism	Kärnkraft	
925	Expressen	1980-03-07	2	Debate article	Populism, conflict, war	Kärnkraft	
926	Expressen	1980-03-07	35	News article	Anti-communism, balance, objectivity	Kärnkraft	
766	SvD	1980-03-08	5	News article	Economism, possibility, vision	Kärnkraft	
127	Aftonbladet	1980-03-08	15	Debate article	Future vision, gender, risk	Kärnkraft	
129	Aftonbladet	1980-03-08	44	News article	Risk, distrust, truth	Kärnkraft	
399	DN	1980-03-08	6	News feature	Potential, alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
128	Aftonbladet	1980-03-08	20	Debate article	Gender, alternative vision,	Kärnkraft	
765	SvD	1980-03-08	2	Leader	Responsibility, risk	Kärnkraft	
927	Expressen	1980-03-09	2	Debate article	Personality, politics	Kärnkraft	
929	Expressen	1980-03-09	20	Debate article		Kärnkraft	
931	Expressen	1980-03-09	21	Debate article	Concern, fatalism, information	Kärnkraft	
930	Expressen	1980-03-09	21	News article	Warning, realism, fatalism	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
928	Expressen	1980-03-09	18	News article	Information, truth, personality	Kärnkraft	
402	DN	1980-03-09	4	Debate article	Fatalism, risk	Kärnkraft	
400	DN	1980-03-09	1	News article	Necessity, future vision	Kärnkraft	
403	DN	1980-03-09	5	News article	rational,	Kärnkraft	
401	DN	1980-03-09	2	Debate article	Gender, uncertainty	Kärnkraft	
130	Aftonbladet	1980-03-09	22	News feature	Identity, future vision, fatalism	Kärnkraft	
404	DN	1980-03-09	36	Debate article	Economy, responsibility	Kärnkraft	
132	Aftonbladet	1980-03-10	18	News feature	Information, truth, democracy	Kärnkraft	
131	Aftonbladet	1980-03-10	2	Leader	Identity, responsibility, risk	Kärnkraft	
767	SvD	1980-03-10	10	News article	Economism, security, regionalism	Kärnkraft	
768	SvD	1980-03-10	11	News feature		Kärnkraft	
135	Aftonbladet	1980-03-11	2	Debate article	Analysis, economy, risk	Kärnkraft	
134	Aftonbladet	1980-03-11	3	Advert	Necessity, community, nation	Kärnkraft	
133	Aftonbladet	1980-03-11	1	News article	Competition, identity, future	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
136	Aftonbladet	1980-03-11	14	News feature	Identity, future vision	Kärnkraft	
137	Aftonbladet	1980-03-11	16	News feature	Information, personality, responsibility	Kärnkraft	
938	Expressen	1980-03-11	16	Debate article	Temporality, reassurance, certainty	Kärnkraft	ENERGIEXPRESSEN
405	DN	1980-03-11	2	Leader	Tragedy, dichotomy, change	Kärnkraft	
934	Expressen	1980-03-11	17	Debate article	Realism, future vision, dependency	Kärnkraft	
933	Expressen	1980-03-11	16	News article	Personality, consensus, pragmatism	Kärnkraft	
932	Expressen	1980-03-11	8	News article	Globalism, solidarity	Kärnkraft	
408	DN	1980-03-11	7	News article	alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
407	DN	1980-03-11	6	News article	Politics, division	Kärnkraft	
940	Expressen	1980-03-11	16	Debate article	Alternative vision, solidarity, environmentalism	Kärnkraft	ENERGIEXPRESSEN
406	DN	1980-03-11	4	Debate article	Anti-capitalism	Kärnkraft	
935	Expressen	1980-03-11	1	News article	Uncertainty, technologism, reliance	Kärnkraft	ENERGIEXPRESSEN
771	SvD	1980-03-11	5	News article	Responsibility	Kärnkraft	
770	SvD	1980-03-11	3	Debate article	Responsibility, capitalism, freedom	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
769	SvD	1980-03-11	2	Leader	balance, realism	Kärnkraft	
936	Expressen	1980-03-11	4	News feature	Technologism, balance, risk	Kärnkraft	ENERGIEXPRESSEN
937	Expressen	1980-03-11	13	News feature	Information, technologism, security	Kärnkraft	ENERGIEXPRESSEN
939	Expressen	1980-03-11	16	Debate article	Rationalism, reassurance, future vision	Kärnkraft	ENERGIEXPRESSEN
774	SvD	1980-03-12	1	News feature	Choice, democracy, future vision	Kärnkraft	Bilagan
775	SvD	1980-03-12	2	Debate article	Pragmatism, security, risk	Kärnkraft	Bilagan
772	SvD	1980-03-12	2	Leader	Fatalism, realism, future vision	Kärnkraft	
777	SvD	1980-03-12	2	Debate article	Risk, alternative vision, responsibility	Kärnkraft	Bilagan
778	SvD	1980-03-12	5	Debate article	Fatalism, risk, urgency	Kärnkraft	Bilagan
779	SvD	1980-03-12	8	News feature	Information, economism	Kärnkraft	Bilagan
780	SvD	1980-03-12	12	News feature	Technologism, education, risk	Kärnkraft	Bilagan
141	Aftonbladet	1980-03-12	19	News feature		Kärnkraft	
776	SvD	1980-03-12	2	Debate article	Responsibility, consensus, leadership	Kärnkraft	Bilagan
415	DN	1980-03-12	34	News article	Democracy, rational	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
138	Aftonbladet	1980-03-12	10	Profile	Gender, truth, distrust	Kärnkraft	
139	Aftonbladet	1980-03-12	16	News feature	Personality, gender, future	Kärnkraft	
941	Expressen	1980-03-12	2	Debate article	Personality, democracy, expertise	Kärnkraft	
942	Expressen	1980-03-12	19	Debate article	Alternative vision, healing, reassurance	Kärnkraft	Healing
409	DN	1980-03-12	2	Debate article		Kärnkraft	
410	DN	1980-03-12	6	News article	Catastrophe, economy, security	Kärnkraft	
411	DN	1980-03-12	7	News article		Kärnkraft	
412	DN	1980-03-12	7	News article	Information, responsibility, gender	Kärnkraft	
414	DN	1980-03-12	18	News article	Populism, community	Kärnkraft	
140	Aftonbladet	1980-03-12	18	News feature	Security, alternative vision, risk	Kärnkraft	
413	DN	1980-03-12	7	News article	Information, risk	Kärnkraft	
143	Aftonbladet	1980-03-13	31	Advert	Truth, information, distrust	Kärnkraft	
142	Aftonbladet	1980-03-13	3	Leader	Rational, risk, pacifist	Kärnkraft	
782	SvD	1980-03-13	22	Advert	Anti-socialism, nation, democracy	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
78 1	SvD	1980 -03- 13	5	News article		Kärnkraft	
78 3	SvD	1980 -03- 13	27	Advert	Truth, information, honesty	Kärnkraft	
94 5	Expressen	1980 -03- 13	20	Debate article	Reassurance, security, vision	Kärnkraft	
41 6	DN	1980 -03- 13	2	Leader	Globalism, politics	Kärnkraft	
94 4	Expressen	1980 -03- 13	18	News feature	Conflict, balance, truth	Kärnkraft	
94 3	Expressen	1980 -03- 13	6	News feature	Personality, feminism, identity	Kärnkraft	
41 8	DN	1980 -03- 13	6	News article	Insecurity, uncertainty, risk	Kärnkraft	
41 9	DN	1980 -03- 13	6	News article	Future vision, delegitimation	Kärnkraft	
42 0	DN	1980 -03- 13	8	News article	future vision, information	Kärnkraft	
42 1	DN	1980 -03- 13	24	Advert	Populism, warning	Kärnkraft	
41 7	DN	1980 -03- 13	2	Debate article	Future vision	Kärnkraft	
14 5	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 14	2	Debate article	Distrust, information, truth	Kärnkraft	
14 4	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 14	15	Advert	Future vision, distrust, truth	Kärnkraft	VERY GOOD QUALITY
42 6	DN	1980 -03- 14	7	News article	Politics	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
14 6	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 14	2	Leader	Fatalism, democracy	Kärnkraft	
42 5	DN	1980 -03- 14	6	News article	Environmentalism , alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
42 7	DN	1980 -03- 14	21	Advert	Security, uncertainty, realism	Kärnkraft	
42 4	DN	1980 -03- 14	4	Debate article	Identity, superiority	Kärnkraft	
78 5	SvD	1980 -03- 14	3	Debate article	Truth, responsibility, informaton	Kärnkraft	
42 2	DN	1980 -03- 14	1	News article	Politics, identity	Kärnkraft	
42 3	DN	1980 -03- 14	2	Debate article	Information, catastrophe	Kärnkraft	
94 6	Expressen	1980 -03- 14	25	Debate article	Anti-communism, growth, freedom	Kärnkraft	
78 4	SvD	1980 -03- 14	2	Leader	Personality, leadrship, uncertainty	Kärnkraft	
78 6	SvD	1980 -03- 15	3	Debate article	Objectivity, rationalism, truth	Kärnkraft	
78 7	SvD	1980 -03- 15	5	News article	Possibility, vision	Kärnkraft	
43 2	DN	1980 -03- 15	17	Advert	Economy, risk, realism	Kärnkraft	
43 0	DN	1980 -03- 15	6	News article	Objectivity, rational, information	Kärnkraft	
42 9	DN	1980 -03- 15	2	Debate article	Identity, community, democracy	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
43 1	DN	1980 -03- 15	7	News article	Responsibility, risk	Kärnkraft	
94 8	Expressen	1980 -03- 15	14	Advert	Community, familiarity, security	Kärnkraft	
14 7	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 15	2	Debate article	technologism, future vision	Kärnkraft	
14 8	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 15	2	Leader	Information, questioning, responsibility	Kärnkraft	
14 9	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 15	22	News feature	Youth, future vision, optimism	Kärnkraft	
15 0	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 15	24	News feature	Democracy, consensus, gender	Kärnkraft	
15 1	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 15	29	Advert	Information, truth, rational	Kärnkraft	
15 2	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 15	36	Advert		Kärnkraft	
94 7	Expressen	1980 -03- 15	12	News article	Personality, leadership, vision	Kärnkraft	
42 8	DN	1980 -03- 15	2	Leader	Future vision	Kärnkraft	
43 3	DN	1980 -03- 16	2	Debate article	Democracy, gender	Kärnkraft	
95 0	Expressen	1980 -03- 16	8	News feature	Leadership, populism, democracy	Kärnkraft	
95 1	Expressen	1980 -03- 16	10	Debate article	Moralism, information, democracy	Kärnkraft	
95 2	Expressen	1980 -03- 16	10	News article	Feminism, peace, social democracy	Kärnkraft	

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ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
953	Expressen	1980-03-16	13	Advert	Warning, realism, fatalism	Kärnkraft	
954	Expressen	1980-03-16	15	Advert	Economism, nation, warning	Kärnkraft	
955	Expressen	1980-03-16	17	News feature	Normalisation, reassurance	Kärnkraft	
790	SvD	1980-03-16	12	Advert	Risk, economism, information	Kärnkraft	
154	Aftonbladet	1980-03-16	14	Advert	Identity, politics, determinism	Kärnkraft	
949	Expressen	1980-03-16	2	Debate article	Future vision, democracy	Kärnkraft	
153	Aftonbladet	1980-03-16	2	Leader	Future vision, security, uncertainty	Kärnkraft	
155	Aftonbladet	1980-03-16	23	Advert	Identity, socialism, welfare	Kärnkraft	
434	DN	1980-03-16	5	Advert		Kärnkraft	
437	DN	1980-03-16	9	News feature	Populism, alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
788	SvD	1980-03-16	2	Leader	Urgency, reassurance, cynicism	Kärnkraft	
156	Aftonbladet	1980-03-16	24	News feature	People, nation, democracy	Kärnkraft	
436	DN	1980-03-16	10	Advert	Truth, information, distrust	Kärnkraft	
435	DN	1980-03-16	6	News article	Delegitimising danger, security	Kärnkraft	

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ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
789	SvD	1980-03-16	11	News article	Democracy, movement, power	Kärnkraft	
439	DN	1980-03-17	1	News article	Inclusivity	Kärnkraft	
438	DN	1980-03-17	12	Advert	Nation, rights, community	Kärnkraft	
794	SvD	1980-03-17	10	News article	Information, decline	Kärnkraft	
958	Expressen	1980-03-17	21	Debate article	Opportunity, urgency, alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
440	DN	1980-03-17	2	Debate article	Politics, insightfulness	Kärnkraft	
956	Expressen	1980-03-17	12	Advert	Need, alternative vision, urgency	Kärnkraft	
161	Aftonbladet	1980-03-17	17	Advert	Nation, alternative vision, democracy	Kärnkraft	Good - nuclear genitive
160	Aftonbladet	1980-03-17	14	News feature	Competition, globalism, alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
159	Aftonbladet	1980-03-17	12	News feature	Division, risk, fatalism	Kärnkraft	
158	Aftonbladet	1980-03-17	3	Advert	Challenge, risk, responsibility.	Kärnkraft	
157	Aftonbladet	1980-03-17	2	Leader		Kärnkraft	
793	SvD	1980-03-17	5	News article	Risk, realism	Kärnkraft	
792	SvD	1980-03-17	3	Debate article	realism, vision, security	Kärnkraft	

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ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
79 1	SvD	1980 -03- 17	2	Leader	Democracy, legitimacy, information	Kärnkraft	
95 7	Expressen	1980 -03- 17	20	News feature	Truth, competency, democracy	Kärnkraft	
95 9	Expressen	1980 -03- 18	2	Leader	Inevitability, resignation	Kärnkraft	
44 4	DN	1980 -03- 18	15	Advert	Security, risk, warning	Kärnkraft	TRYGGHETSBEGREP PET
16 6	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 18	44	Comme nt	Distrust, future vision, information	Kärnkraft	
16 5	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 18	20	News feature	Truth, personality, future vision	Kärnkraft	
16 4	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 18	18	News feature	Identity, determinism, gender	Kärnkraft	
16 3	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 18	2	Debate article		Kärnkraft	
96 2	Expressen	1980 -03- 18	17	Debate article	Economism, risk	Kärnkraft	
96 0	Expressen	1980 -03- 18	15	Advert	Objectivity, truth, technologism	Kärnkraft	
16 2	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 18	2	Leader	Identity, politics, distrust	Kärnkraft	
96 1	Expressen	1980 -03- 18	18	News article	Feminism, social democracy, inter generationalism	Kärnkraft	
44 2	DN	1980 -03- 18	4	Debate article	Consequential, fatalistic, realism	Kärnkraft	
44 3	DN	1980 -03- 18	7	News feature	Rational, realism	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
44 1	DN	1980 -03- 18	2	Debate article	Alternative vision, future vision	Kärnkraft	
79 6	SvD	1980 -03- 18	13	News feature	Democracy, legitimacy	Kärnkraft	
79 5	SvD	1980 -03- 18	2	Leader	Nation, freedom, security	Kärnkraft	
79 9	SvD	1980 -03- 19	14	News article	Economism, challenge	Kärnkraft	
16 9	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 19	18	News feature	Distrust, security, responsibility	Kärnkraft	
16 8	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 19	16	News feature	Distrust, security, responsibility	Kärnkraft	
44 5	DN	1980 -03- 19	2	Debate article	Risk, new information	Kärnkraft	
45 1	DN	1980 -03- 19	17	Advert	Anecdotalism, economy, democracy	Kärnkraft	
45 0	DN	1980 -03- 19	15	News article		Kärnkraft	
96 4	Expressen	1980 -03- 19	20	News article	Democracy, reassurance, community	Kärnkraft	
79 7	SvD	1980 -03- 19	2	Debate article	Challenge, risk, realism	Kärnkraft	
79 8	SvD	1980 -03- 19	13	News article	Economism, risk, challenge	Kärnkraft	
96 6	Expressen	1980 -03- 19	30	News article	Appropriateness, restraint, pragmatism	Kärnkraft	
16 7	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 19	2	Debate article	Risk, distrust, allying fear	Kärnkraft	

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ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
448	DN	1980-03-19	4	Debate article	Environmentalism, naturalism, normative	Kärnkraft	Interesting
446	DN	1980-03-19	2	Debate article	Common sense, rational, realism	Kärnkraft	
449	DN	1980-03-19	6	News article	Risk, logic, economy	Kärnkraft	
452	DN	1980-03-19	35	Advert	Relational, economy, security	Kärnkraft	SPORT
963	Expressen	1980-03-19	4	News article	Solidarity, realism, globalism	Kärnkraft	
965	Expressen	1980-03-19	23	Debate article	Anti-capitalism, pastoralism, feminsim	Kärnkraft	LINDGREN/CAPITALISM
447	DN	1980-03-19	2	Leader		Kärnkraft	GOOD on INFORMATION
971	Expressen	1980-03-20	30	News feature	Normality, reassurance, technologism	Kärnkraft	
970	Expressen	1980-03-20	27	Advert	Consensus, information	Kärnkraft	
455	DN	1980-03-20	18	Advert	Economy, democracy, agency	Kärnkraft	
454	DN	1980-03-20	19	Advert	Nation, democracy, future vision	Kärnkraft	oljan
453	DN	1980-03-20	2	Debate article	Gender, logic, alternative vision	Kärnkraft	Alva Myrdal
967	Expressen	1980-03-20	16	News article	Feminism, peace, social democracy	Kärnkraft	Alva Myrdal
802	SvD	1980-03-20	5	Debate article	Fatalism, security, leadership	Kärnkraft	Palme

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
969	Expressen	1980-03-20	22	Advert	Warning, realism	Kärnkraft	
800	SvD	1980-03-20	2	Leader	Economism, risk, uncertainty	Kärnkraft	
801	SvD	1980-03-20	5	Debate article	Opportunity, consensus, compromise	Kärnkraft	
968	Expressen	1980-03-20	17	Debate article	Expertise, anti-feminism, realism	Kärnkraft	
175	Aftonbladet	1980-03-20	31	Advert	Economy, security, risk	Kärnkraft	
174	Aftonbladet	1980-03-20	27	Advert	Risk, fatalism, security	Kärnkraft	
173	Aftonbladet	1980-03-20	20	Debate article	Information, democracy, environmentalism	Kärnkraft	
172	Aftonbladet	1980-03-20	20	Debate article	Authoritative, deterministic, future vision	Kärnkraft	
171	Aftonbladet	1980-03-20	13	Advert	Economy, democracy, common sense	Kärnkraft	
170	Aftonbladet	1980-03-20	2	Leader	New information, responsibility, realism	Kärnkraft	
458	DN	1980-03-21	4	Debate article	fatalism, alternative vision	Kärnkraft	
803	SvD	1980-03-21	2	Leader	Anti-socialism, security	Kärnkraft	
805	SvD	1980-03-21	5	News article	Reassurance, new information, security	Kärnkraft	
972	Expressen	1980-03-21	2	Debate article	Economism, alternative vision	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
97 3	Expressen	1980 -03- 21	4	Debate article	Choice, agency, humanity	Kärnkraft	
80 4	SvD	1980 -03- 21	3	Debate article	Realism, expertise	Kärnkraft	
45 6	DN	1980 -03- 21	1	News article	competition, fatalism	Kärnkraft	
97 5	Expressen	1980 -03- 21	18	Debate article	Identity, distrust, politics	Kärnkraft	
97 6	Expressen	1980 -03- 21	23	Advert	Uncertainty, truth, information	Kärnkraft	
46 1	DN	1980 -03- 21	28	Advert	Alternative vision, economy, democracy	Kärnkraft	
45 9	DN	1980 -03- 21	6	News article	Information, opportunity	Kärnkraft	
97 7	Expressen	1980 -03- 21	28	News feature	Information, anti-politics	Kärnkraft	
45 7	DN	1980 -03- 21	2	Leader		Kärnkraft	
18 0	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 21	44	Advert	Information, risk, security	Kärnkraft	
97 4	Expressen	1980 -03- 21	16	News feature	Democracy, populism, leadership	Kärnkraft	
17 9	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 21	33	Advert	Doubt, security, future vision	Kärnkraft	
46 0	DN	1980 -03- 21	7	News article	Rational, information	Kärnkraft	
17 8	Aftonbladet	1980 -03- 21	32	Advert	Optimism, alternative vision, democracy	Kärnkraft	

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ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
177	Aftonbladet	1980-03-21	22	News feature	Information, distrust, truth	Kärnkraft	Distrust in institutions and voices
176	Aftonbladet	1980-03-21	21	Advert	Common sense, risk, responsibility	Kärnkraft	
806	SvD	1980-03-22	2	Leader	Choice, urgency, dichotomy	Kärnkraft	
807	SvD	1980-03-22	3	Debate article	Economism, realism, information	Kärnkraft	
808	SvD	1980-03-22	10	Advert	Risk, democracy, nation	Kärnkraft	Middle east undemocratic
978	Expressen	1980-03-22	2	Leader	Need, security, vision	Kärnkraft	
464	DN	1980-03-22	4	Debate article	Economy, information	Kärnkraft	
467	DN	1980-03-22	21	Advert	Democracy, control, individualism	Kärnkraft	
190	Aftonbladet	1980-03-22	38	Advert	Gender, economy, identity	Kärnkraft	
189	Aftonbladet	1980-03-22	37	Advert	Personality, economy, security	Kärnkraft	
188	Aftonbladet	1980-03-22	35	Advert	Identity, deterministic, security	Kärnkraft	v good on identity
187	Aftonbladet	1980-03-22	28	News feature	Identity, security, personality	Kärnkraft	
186	Aftonbladet	1980-03-22	26	News article	Identity, choice, change	Kärnkraft	
185	Aftonbladet	1980-03-22	21	Advert	Democracy, individualism, nation	Kärnkraft	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
184	Aftonbladet	1980-03-22	20	Debate article	Compromise, fatalism, distrust	Kärnkraft	
183	Aftonbladet	1980-03-22	4	Debate article	Risk, anti-capitalism, democracy	Kärnkraft	
182	Aftonbladet	1980-03-22	2	Leader	Distrust, risk, future vision	Kärnkraft	
181	Aftonbladet	1980-03-22	2	Debate article	Risk, necessity, change	Kärnkraft	
462	DN	1980-03-22	1	News article	Politics, necessity,	Kärnkraft	
466	DN	1980-03-22	9	Advert	Impotence, democracy, protest	Kärnkraft	
465	DN	1980-03-22	6	News article	Nation, globalism, risk	Kärnkraft	
983	Expressen	1980-03-22	32	News feature		Kärnkraft	
982	Expressen	1980-03-22	24	Advert	Uncertainty, risk, information	Kärnkraft	
981	Expressen	1980-03-22	11	Debate article	Risk, rationalism, restraint	Kärnkraft	
980	Expressen	1980-03-22	10	Debate article	Personality, social democratic, leadership	Kärnkraft	
979	Expressen	1980-03-22	8	News article	Personality, leadership, competition	Kärnkraft	
463	DN	1980-03-22	2	Debate article	Fatalism, challenge, leadership	Kärnkraft	PALME
565	DN	2010-03-16	10	Debate article	Economics, necessity, realism	Förbifarten	

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ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
581	Expressen	2010-03-29	12	News article	Investment, time, future vision	Förbifarten	
509	Aftonbladet	2010-03-29	30	News article	Investment, future vision, necessity	Förbifarten	
566	DN	2010-03-29	4	Debate article	Responsibility, necessity, inevitability	Förbifarten	Alliance realism
588	SvD	2010-03-30	4	Leader	Continuity, inevitability, consensus	Förbifarten	
586	Expressen	2010-03-30	2	Debate article	Responsibility, future vision, consensus	Förbifarten	
567	DN	2010-03-30	15	News article	Necessity, personality, consensus	Förbifarten	
524	Aftonbladet	2010-03-30	2	Debate article	Democracy, equity, responsibility	Förbifarten	
589	SvD	2010-03-30	8	News article	Future vision, responsibility, consensus	Förbifarten	
568	DN	2010-03-31	8	News feature	Environment, investment, necessity	Förbifarten	
590	SvD	2010-03-31	4	Leader	Responsibility, realism, vision	Förbifarten	
591	SvD	2010-03-31	8	News article	Infrastructure, investment, possibility	Förbifarten	
592	SvD	2010-03-31	8	News feature	Modernity, renewal, innovation	Förbifarten	
523	Aftonbladet	2010-03-31	16	News article	Compromise, necessity,	Förbifarten	
569	DN	2010-03-31	9	News feature	Necessity, difference, investment	Förbifarten	

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ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
53 2	DN	2010 -03- 31	1	News article		Förbifarten	
53 3	DN	2010 -03- 31	4	Leader	Compromise, balance, necessity	Förbifarten	
53 4	DN	2010 -03- 31	14	News article	Alternative vision, expertise,	Förbifarten	
53 6	DN	2010 -04- 01	9	News article		Förbifarten	
53 5	DN	2010 -04- 01	8	News article	Personality, gender, leadership	Förbifarten	
51 0	Aftonbladet	2010 -04- 02	30	Debate article	Class, necessity, inevitability	Förbifarten	
58 7	Expressen	2010 -04- 02	2	Leader	Necessity, responsibility, expertise	Förbifarten	
52 5	Aftonbladet	2010 -04- 03	2	Leader		Förbifarten	Good leader
50 8	Aftonbladet	2010 -04- 08	33	Debate article	Compromise, realism, future vision	Förbifarten	
52 8	DN	2010 -04- 10	34	Debate article	Alternative vision, socialism, realism	Förbifarten	
53 7	DN	2010 -04- 20	6	Debate article	Expertise, new information, environment	Förbifarten	
52 1	Aftonbladet	2010 -04- 21	34	News article	Alternative vision, democracy, urbanism	Förbifarten	
58 5	Expressen	2010 -04- 21	54	TV	Conflict, democracy, war	Förbifarten	
59 5	SvD	2010 -04- 21	7	News article	Democracy, choice, consensus	Förbifarten	

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ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
593	SvD	2010-04-21	4	Leader	Necessity, inevitability, democracy	Förbifarten	
594	SvD	2010-04-21	6	News article	Reservation, scepticism, democracy	Förbifarten	
539	DN	2010-04-21	10	News article	Democracy, necessity, choice	Förbifarten	
538	DN	2010-04-21	4	Leader	Democracy, responsibility, localism	Förbifarten	
596	SvD	2010-04-22	9	News article	Democracy, necessity, normality	Förbifarten	
530	DN	2010-04-22	8	News article	Democracy, legitimacy,	Förbifarten	
579	Expressen	2010-04-22	2	Leader	Threat, responsibility, vision	Förbifarten	
531	DN	2010-04-22	9	News article	Time, future vision, inevitability	Förbifarten	
540	DN	2010-04-22	2	Leader	Responsibility, governance, gender	Förbifarten	
599	SvD	2010-04-23	10	News article	Anti-growth, inevitability, identity	Förbifarten	
582	Expressen	2010-04-23	2	Debate article	Criticism, politics, choice	Förbifarten	
543	DN	2010-04-23	25	News article	Uncertainty, choice, politics	Förbifarten	
598	SvD	2010-04-23	5	Debate article	New information, expertise, democracy	Förbifarten	Interesting
597	SvD	2010-04-23	4	Leader	Identity, ownership, liberalism	Förbifarten	

Cumulative project data							
ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
54 1	DN	2010 -04- 23	4	Leader	Democracy, anti-socialism, leadership	Förbifarten	
54 2	DN	2010 -04- 23	24	News article	Democracy, localism	Förbifarten	
57 7	Expressen	2010 -04- 23	2	Debate article	Nation, responsibility, necessity	Förbifarten	
54 4	DN	2010 -04- 24	6	Debate article	Future vision, consensus, modernity	Förbifarten	
60 0	SvD	2010 -04- 25	6	Debate article	Economy, time, vision	Förbifarten	handelskammare
54 5	DN	2010 -04- 25	35	Debate article	Realism, modernity, alternative vision	Förbifarten	
60 1	SvD	2010 -04- 25	14	News article	Alternative vision, realism, consensus	Förbifarten	
60 2	SvD	2010 -04- 26	4	Leader	Economy, democracy, compromise	Förbifarten	
60 3	SvD	2010 -04- 27	8	News article	Alternative vision, democracy, consensus	Förbifarten	
57 8	Expressen	2010 -04- 27	2	Leader	Continuity, responsibility, freedom	Förbifarten	
54 6	DN	2010 -04- 28	4	Leader	Unity, future vision, realism	Förbifarten	
52 7	DN	2010 -04- 29	6	Debate article	Investment, leadership, competence	Förbifarten	S
50 7	Aftonbladet	2010 -05- 02	12	News article	Compromise, investment, equity	Förbifarten	
57 0	DN	2010 -05- 08	16	news article	Democracy, choice, future vision	Förbifarten	

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ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
526	DN	2010-05-08	12	Leader	Responsibility, continuity, necessity	Förbifarten	
571	Expressen	2010-05-08	2	Leader	Nation, competition, enterprise	Förbifarten	
522	Aftonbladet	2010-05-13	41	Debate article	Alternative vision, class	Förbifarten	
573	Expressen	2010-05-13	27	News article	Personality, choice, politics	Förbifarten	
605	SvD	2010-05-19	7	News article	New information, solutionism, necessity	Förbifarten	
604	SvD	2010-05-19	6	News article	Choice, realism, investment	Förbifarten	
606	SvD	2010-05-21	5	Debate article	New information, modernity, technologism	Förbifarten	GREAT
607	SvD	2010-05-25	4	Leader	Resignation, decadence, continuity	Förbifarten	
547	DN	2010-05-26	9	News article	Necessity, inevitability, tough choices	Förbifarten	
548	DN	2010-05-26	8	News article	Necessity, inevitability, tough choices	Förbifarten	
549	DN	2010-05-27	15	News article	Factual, necessity,	Förbifarten	
550	DN	2010-05-28	39	Debate article	Expertise, alternative vision, environment	Förbifarten	
511	Aftonbladet	2010-05-29	11	News article	Responsibility, compromise, trust	Förbifarten	
551	DN	2010-05-29	2	Leader	Leadership, investment, democracy	Förbifarten	

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ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
55 2	DN	2010 -06- 01	36	News article	Economy, necessity, future vision	Förbifarten	
55 3	DN	2010 -06- 05	2	Leader	Responsibility, contunity, politics	Förbifarten	
55 4	DN	2010 -06- 05	23	News article	Infrastructure, necessity, time	Förbifarten	
51 9	Aftonbladet	2010 -06- 08	8	News feature	Aspiration, democracy, Environment	Förbifarten	
51 4	Aftonbladet	2010 -06- 17	32	Debate article	Environment, responsibility, integrity	Förbifarten	
52 0	Aftonbladet	2010 -06- 19	2	Leader	Alternative vision, investment, modernity	Förbifarten	
61 7	SvD	2010 -06- 23	4	Leader	Localism, conservation, delineation	Förbifarten	
51 2	Aftonbladet	2010 -06- 29	41	Debate article		Förbifarten	
61 8	SvD	2010 -07- 16	4	Debate article	Realism, responsibility, inevitability	Förbifarten	RUWAIDA
61 9	SvD	2010 -07- 21	5	Debate article	Necessity, time, realism	Förbifarten	
58 0	Expressen	2010 -07- 23	2	Debate article	Trust, future vision, responsibility	Förbifarten	
60 8	SvD	2010 -07- 26	5	Debate article	Modernity, democracy, alternative vision	Förbifarten	RUWAIDA
60 9	SvD	2010 -07- 30	7	News article	Leadership, personality, responsibility	Förbifarten	
55 5	DN	2010 -08- 04	4	Leader	Responsibility, democracy, compromise	Förbifarten	SOM KÄRNKRAFTSOMRÖ STNINGEN

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ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
610	SvD	2010-08-05	10	News article	Future vision, infrastructure, development	Förbifarten	
611	SvD	2010-08-11	6	News article	Relativism, environment, responsiveness	Förbifarten	
583	Expressen	2010-08-13	2	Debate article	Reservation, doubt, modernity	Förbifarten	
556	DN	2010-08-17	2	Leader	Future vision, innovation, necessity	Förbifarten	
557	DN	2010-08-18	14	News article	Continuity, necessity, future	Förbifarten	
515	Aftonbladet	2010-08-20	32	News feature	Realism, necessity, liberalism	Förbifarten	
575	Expressen	2010-08-21	12	News article	Localism, necessity, future vision	Förbifarten	
612	SvD	2010-08-25	4	Leader	Class, environment, politics	Förbifarten	
558	DN	2010-08-25	6	Debate article	Environment, expertise, compromise	Förbifarten	
559	DN	2010-08-25	10	News article	Equity, future vision, necessity	Förbifarten	
561	DN	2010-08-28	15	News feature	Choice, future vision, responsibility	Förbifarten	
560	DN	2010-08-28	14	News article	Choice, future vision, responsibility	Förbifarten	
613	SvD	2010-08-29	12	News article	Choice, compromise, consensus	Förbifarten	
516	Aftonbladet	2010-08-31	37	Debate article	Truth, realism, class	Förbifarten	

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ID	Publication	Date	Page	Article type	Frames	Debate	Notes
56 2	DN	2010 -08- 31	12	News article	Choice, alternative vision	Förbifarten	
51 7	Aftonbladet	2010 -09- 07	22	News feature	Division, future vision, agenda	Förbifarten	
61 4	SvD	2010 -09- 08	7	News article	Environment, conservation, space	Förbifarten	
57 2	Expressen	2010 -09- 09	4	Debate article	Expertise, environment, new information	Förbifarten	
56 3	DN	2010 -09- 09	12	News article	Responsibility, future vision, investment	Förbifarten	
51 8	Aftonbladet	2010 -09- 10	4	Debate article	Alternative vision, responsibility, public service	Förbifarten	
61 5	SvD	2010 -09- 12	4	Leader	Economy, investment, necessity	Förbifarten	
52 9	DN	2010 -09- 15	4	Leader	Pragmatism, consensus, compromise	Förbifarten	
61 6	SvD	2010 -09- 16	10	News article	Ideology, choice, localism	Förbifarten	
56 4	DN	2010 -09- 16	12	News article	Personality, courage, responsibility	Förbifarten	
57 4	Expressen	2010 -09- 16	24	News feature	Localism, populism, investment	Förbifarten	
58 4	Expressen	2010 -09- 18	2	Debate article	Democracy, caution, responsibility	Förbifarten	

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